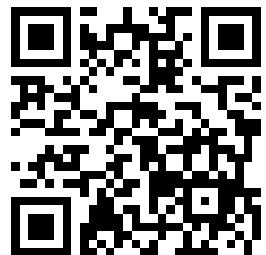

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The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities MEDELHAVSMUSEET

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In this journal, the style of references recommended by the *Opuscula Atheniensi* and the *Opuscula Romana* (*OpRom* 15, 1985, 165-167) is followed. Abbreviations of periodicals and standard works follow the standard usage as in the *American Journal of Archaeology* (vol 90, 1986, 381-394 and vol. 92, 1988, 629 f.) and in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, with the following additions:

MedMusM Medelhavsmuseet. Memoirs
SkrRom Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom

Recommended abbreviation for this journal:

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Two Fragmentary Statuettes from the New Kingdom at Stockholm

Ingegerd Lindblad

An Amun-Statuette

In 1961 the Medelhavsmuseet acquired a statuette, *MME 1961:313* (Figs. 1–8), from the estate of a descendant of Sven Fredrik Lidman, the Dean of Linköping, who visited Egypt in 1815.¹

The material is fine-grained limestone, originally painted in polychrome. The max. height is 12.5 cm, the max. width 8 cm and the max. depth 7 cm. The height of the face is 2.2 cm and the width 2.5 cm. The height of the ear is 1.2 cm.

Below, the figure is broken just below the neck and through the beard. On top, the rather level surface is partly original, since it shows painted lines in black and yellow. The stone behind the figure is broken irregularly, except for part of the surface at the front, which is level and thus original. The beard is badly broken, like the lower part of the left ear. The lobe of the right ear is chipped. The ears are left undetached from the stone at the back, and thus a kind of roll is left behind each ear. The surface of the figure is covered by chisel-marks, most evidently on the rolls behind the ears. The whole figure and the front of the stone behind were originally painted and still show traces of yellow, black and red. The face was in black, as well as the irises. The front of the stone behind the figure was painted in yellow on top of a layer in black. On this surface and on the feathers of the head-dress, there are traces of red colour. Rather far up to the right of the feathers, there is an *anck*-sign in red, partly preserved.

The figure is attached to a slab of stone and is wearing a crown consisting of a lower, cap-like part surmounted by tall, straight feathers (*swty*, the Double-feather crown). The rim at the forehead is curved and plastically clearly distinguished from the forehead.

The face is rather triangular with full cheeks² and a slightly convex, receding forehead. The chin is horizontal *en face*, probably due to the attached beard, but rounded in profile with a slightly descending base towards the neck. The maximum protrusion of the cheek in 3/4 profile is at the level of the bottom of the nose, where an additional volume is plastically modelled. The jaws are situated in front of the root of the nose, the lower behind the upper one.

The oblique, almond-shaped eyes are very large, with jutting, heavy, upper eyelids and large, painted irises. The eyeballs are flat and oblique in profile. The eyebrows are edge-like and run horizontally from the root of the nose and descend towards the temples. The upper limit of the upper eyelid is plastically clearly indicated, as is the lower limit. The rim of the lower eyelid was marked only in paint, though.

The nose is broader than the distance between the eyes. It is narrow at the root and has a low onset. The aleas are large and indicated by semi-circular grooves. The nose is slightly concave in profile with a rounded tip that points upwards. The philtrum is plastically indicated, showing a concave, very jutting shape in profile.

The full-lipped, serious mouth is somewhat broader than the nose. The upper, fuller lip has a rounded Cupid's bow. The lower lip diminishes towards the corners of the mouth, where slight depressions can be observed. The lips have flat, oblique surfaces in profile.

The figure depicted is the god Amun, represented in this human fashion since the Middle Kingdom and wearing a crown with tall, twin plumes. The colour of the skin of the god could be golden, blue or, as here, more rarely black. The black colour was normally connected with the fertility aspect of the divinity, and very likely this aspect is especially stressed in this case.³

As for the date of origin, the facial shape and the



Fig. 1.

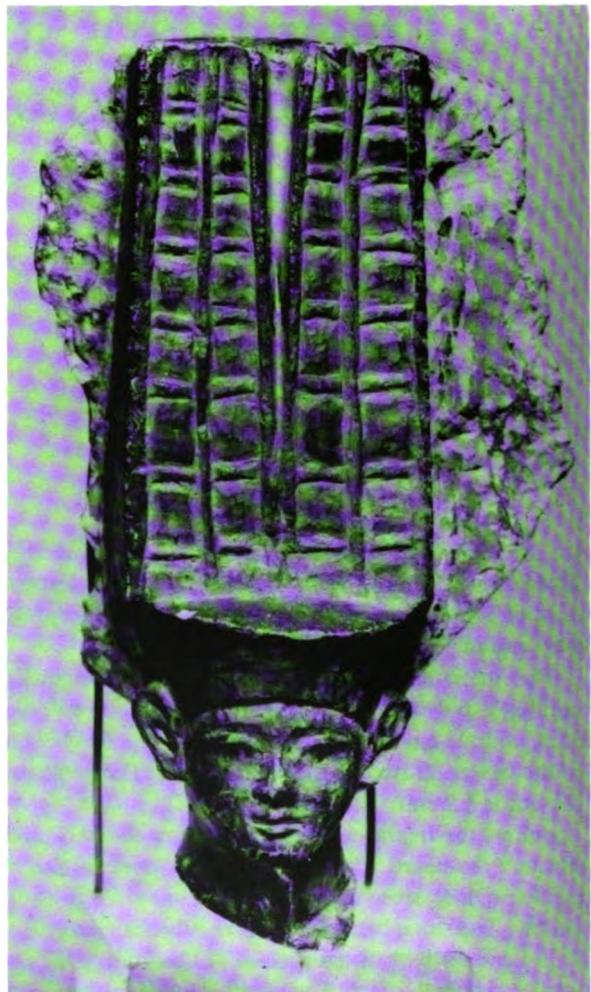


Fig. 2.

large, almond-shaped eyes indicate a date earlier than the reign of Ramses II or that of Sethos I. On the other hand, the execution of the orbital area and the large eyes with heavy, jutting eyelids, combined with edge-like eyebrows, date the piece at the earliest in the Late Amarna period. The proportions of the face are those of a childish physiognomy with full cheeks and a slightly concave shape of the nose with a low onset and a rounded tip. The childish impression conveyed by the figure excludes a date of origin in the reign of Ay or in that of Horemheb and therefore I settle here for a date in the reign of Tuthankhamun. For further elucidation on this period, see my article in *Bulletin* 19.⁴

The fact that the god Amun was restored soon after Tuthankhamun succeeded Akhenaten resulted in statues of the god with features of the young king, Tuthankhamun. There are statues that may be good stylistic parallels, considering the facial shape with a rather high forehead and childishly full cheeks, large, almond-shaped, oblique eyes with jutting, heavy, upper eyelids and edge-like eyebrows.⁵ There are also plenty of depictions of the king himself, in the round and in relief, with strikingly parallel features (Figs. 9–10).

On account of the minute size of the god and the large, broken stone behind the figure with an original surface right on top of the plumes, I suggest that the



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

statue once belonged to a naos of a contemporary of the king Tuthankhamun. This would also account for features like the undetached ears, which would not show in a *naos*. Although seemingly hastily executed, the figure was certainly looked upon as finished, since the surface was painted. Alternatively, it may also have been offered in a *naos* by a private male person, a naophor, as a type of sculpture known since the time of Senenmut in the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁶ Royal persons are not known to be depicted in this fashion.⁷ The remaining *ankh* sign painted on the surface to the right of the high plumes would not be out of context, judging by the *naos* offered by Yuny in the Metropolitan Museum.⁸

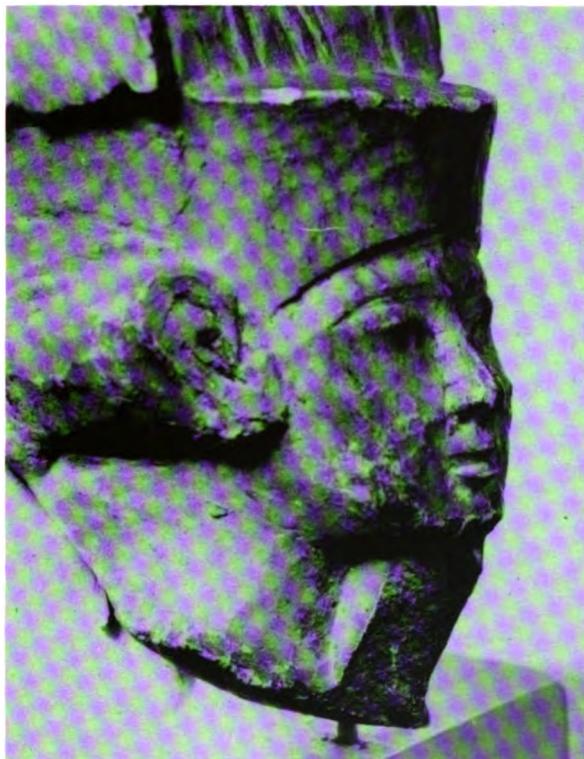


Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.

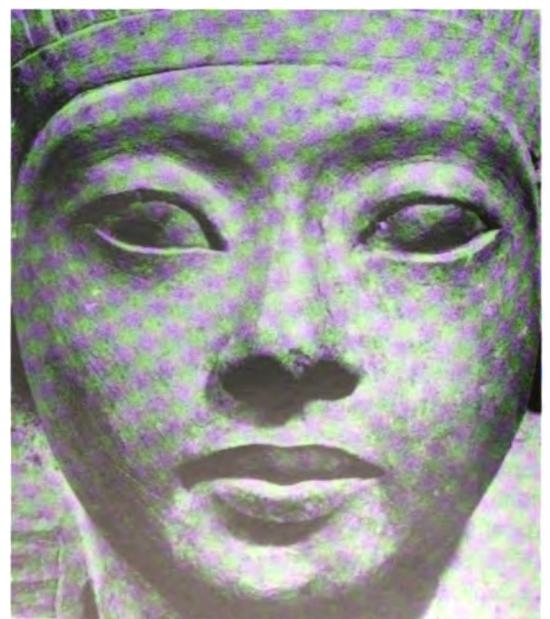


Fig. 9. Detail of CG 42097.



Fig. 10. Detail of the small golden shrine of Tuthankhamun.



Fig. 11.

A Statuette of a King with a Divinity

The Second piece of sculpture, *MM 10019* (Figs. 11-15), was deposited in 1928 at the Egyptian Museum. In 1932 it was given to the Museum by Dr. Otto Smith, who had bought it from R. G. Gayer-Anderson.⁹ At the back of the piece, Gayer-Anderson has noted the provenance as Luxor in Egypt.

The material is limestone. The max. height is 16 cm, the max. width 7.4 cm and the max. depth 6 cm. The height of the head is 1.9 cm.

Judging by the traces at the back, the fragment seems to have been removed with a saw. There are some breaks at the back, one of which is filled with plaster. Only the upper part of the human figure is preserved; the whole piece is broken obliquely below from about the level of the waist. The left side of the figure is chipped as well. The right side of the head of the snake is broken, as is the left side of its shield. The face and neck of the figure are painted red and so is the preserved eye of the snake. The surface of the piece is partly rubbed and shiny.

The badly broken snake is depicted with a puffed, raised body and enough remains to show that it wore the Double Crown on its head. In front of its raised body, below the head, a standing figure in human shape is depicted. The arms are crossed; the right hand holds the hook, the left hand the flail. The figure is clothed in a tight-fitting cloth and wears a striped wig with a damaged uraeus at the front. The wig consists of alto-

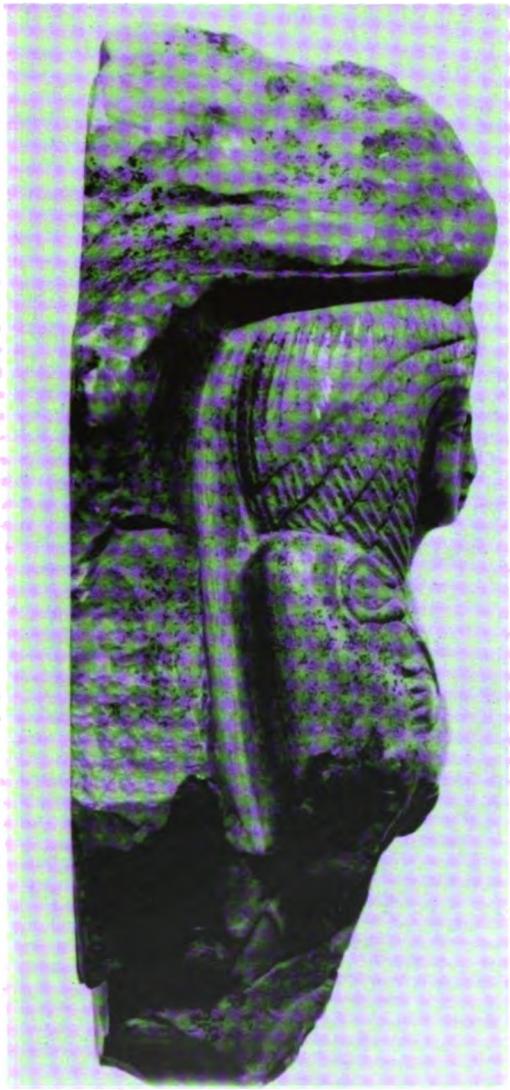


Fig. 12.

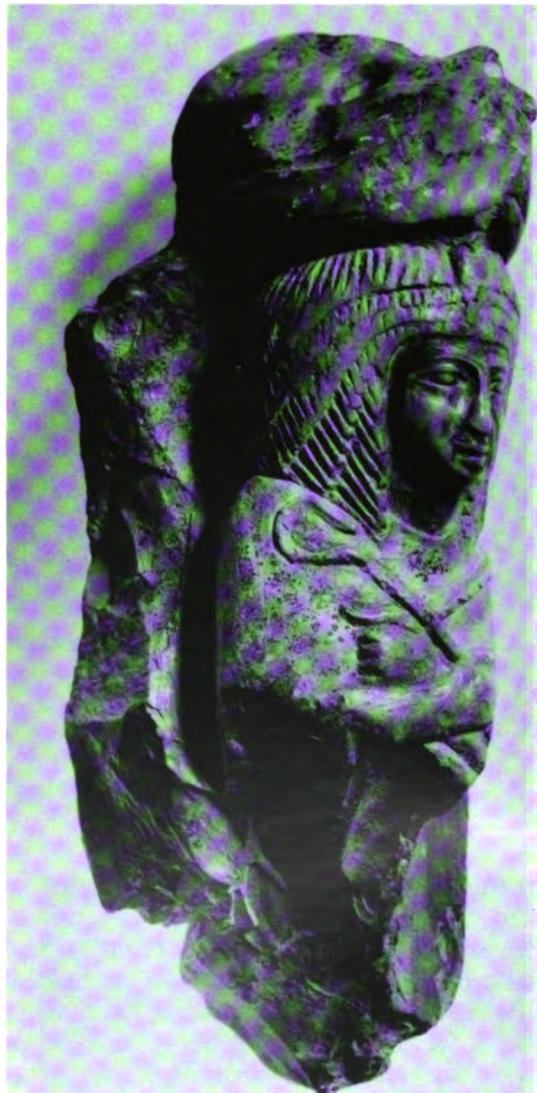


Fig. 13.

gether five sections and ends in a nib just below the shoulders.

The face is oval with a short chin. The cheeks are evenly rounded all the way, apart from shallow depressions well below and all along the eyes. The upper jaw is set in front of the root of the nose, the lower is behind that point of reference. The maximum protrusion of the cheek in 3/4 profile is at the level of the alea. The forehead is recessive, as is the chin (partly due to the

rubbed state). The base of the chin descends towards the neck.

The elongated eyes, of medium size, are almost horizontally situated. The upper rims are executed as a ridge and the left is badly rubbed, though the lower rims are plain. There are traces of rather short, once painted, cosmetic lines, turning slightly downwards. The eyebrows are broad and run in an elongated curvature above the eyes, joining the outline of the nose, at



Fig. 14.



Fig. 15.

the root of the nose.

The nose is long and slightly wider than the distance between the eyes. The tip is rubbed but seems to have been slightly bent. The aleas are plastically faintly marked, the nostrils clearly so by means of round holes. The philtum is short.

The full-lipped mouth is somewhat wider than the nose. The upper lip is thicker and longer than the lower one. There are deep depressions at the corners.

There are no inscriptions or other evidence indicating an indisputable date of manufacture. It remains to look into the style and iconography of the piece.

To begin with the style, the small size and the fact that the piece is not of first-class quality must be considered. The object is, however, certainly to be considered as completed. It belongs in the New Kingdom, more precisely in the Nineteenth Dynasty. Statues like M.M.A. 22.2.21, Cairo 751 and Turin 1380, represent-

ing Sethos I and Ramses II, are easily called to mind. The oval face of the convex kind with a short chin and non-emphasized yokebones, the long, probably bent nose, the almost horizontal, elongated and down-cast eyes exclude an origin in the Eighteenth Dynasty. However, the closeness to the late Eighteenth Dynasty shows in the reminiscences of the "soft" modelling, evident in the modelling of the cheeks below the eyes and in the area of the mouth.

Turning to the iconography, the wig is an enlightening detail. This type of wig, worn by the king, appears for the first time in the reign of Amenhotep III.¹⁰ The exact design, as in the piece discussed, appears somewhat later and, according to Vandier, only seven examples, in the round, are known: *Sethos I*: Cairo 751; Vienna 5910; *Ramses II*: Cairo 67841; *Mineptah*: Cairo 1240; *Sethos II*: B.M. 616 [26]; *Ramses III*: Cairo 42150; *Anonymous*: Turin 1392. This design of the wig would thus support a date of manufacture somewhere between Sethos I and Ramses III. Comparing both the style and the specific design of the wig with examples executed in relief, there are some good parallels representing Sethos I.¹¹ Considering the state of preservation, the small size and the poorer quality of the piece discussed, I do not consider it advisable to enter into a discussion of the exact date of manufacture. I am also thinking of the state of research on the sculpture of the Early Nineteenth Dynasty.¹²

As regards the provenance, Luxor, as noted by Gayer-Anderson, fits very well with the motif. Meretseger, identified with the top of the mountain on the western side of the river at Thebes, is often depicted as a raised cobra, sometimes with the Double Crown on its head.¹³ She may also appear in the shape of a woman, a lioness or a cow, often in several aspects simultaneously and with different crowns, frequently with the crown of Hathor.¹⁴ Some of the epithets connected with her show a connexion with other goddesses like Isis, the uraeus or Hathor.¹⁵ The iconography as such – a king represented with a divinity in the shape of an animal – is known early in Egyptian history, for example the statue of Khephren with the Horus falcon behind the head, dated back in the Fourth Dynasty.¹⁶ Here, it is a goddess that is raised behind the king. A similar representation with Meretseger, raised behind the king and wearing the crown of Hathor, is known from the reign of Amenhotep II (Fig. 16).¹⁷ The same king is also shown, in the round, in front of the goddess Hathor in the shape of a cow.¹⁸ Hathor here protects the king and gives him milk, a sign of regeneration. The



Fig. 16. Cairo N.E. IV.

two representations have, as Vandier notes, great similarities.¹⁹

The statuette discussed appears to be a symbolic representation of the eternal, cosmic interplay of life and death. The king is depicted wearing a wig with an uraeus at the front, as worn by the living king and with the colour of the living king, but with the garment and attitude of Osiris. Thus, the king seems to be represented in two aspects – alive and dead – in one figure. The goddess may, perhaps, be interpreted as the "dynamo" in this process. Meretseger was, in a way, the personification of the Theban necropolis, the protectress of the dead. She was also identified with the goddess Isis, who restored Osiris to life and bore him a child as a sign thereof. Meretseger, as we saw, could also be identified with Hathor and Nut, the goddess of the sky, cyclically swallowing and giving birth to the whole creation. Here, it seems, we encounter a representation in the round that recalls the unity of Osiris and Re, the living

aspect of the king, as depicted in the tomb of Nefer-tari.²⁰ Also, to some extent, the last picture of the illuminated funerary texts, as found in the royal tombs of the New Kingdom, seem relevant in this context.²¹

The Stockholm statuette is probably to be looked upon as a votive gift, possibly dedicated by an inhabitant in Deir el Medineh, asking for protection and eternal life, in its different aspects. Deir el Medineh was the centre of the cult of Meretseger, above all in the Ramessidian time.

¹⁵ See note 13.

¹⁶ J. Vandier (supra n. 5), pl. II, 2–3.

¹⁷ J. Vandier (supra n. 5), pl. C, 4 and p. 309.

¹⁸ J. Vandier (supra n. 5), pl. CII, 4.

¹⁹ J. Vandier (supra n. 5), 308 f.

²⁰ E. Hornung, *Tal der Könige*, Zürich 1985, pl. 38.

²¹ E. Hornung (supra n. 20), pls. 92 f. and 109.

¹ Simultaneously, three stelae from Deir el Medineh, known to have belonged to the Sven Fredrik Lidman Collection, were acquired, together with a few minor objects. It is most likely that the statuette fragment was one of the antiquities collected by Lidman, most of which were in 1818 so regrettably lost in a fire at Constantinople. Other antiquities from his collection are – with the exception of a mummy coffin in the Medelhavsmuseet – kept in Linköping.

² For the terms and points of reference used in the article, see I. Lindblad, *Royal Sculpture of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt* (MedMusM 5), Stockholm 1984, 11–13.

³ P. Reuterswärd, *Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik I, Ägypten*, Uppsala 1958, 33 and note 2.

⁴ I. Lindblad, 'Four pieces of Royal Sculpture from the New Kingdom at Stockholm', *MedMusB* 19, 1984, 31–34 with references.

⁵ J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne III, Les grandes époques, la statuaire 2*, 1958, pl. CXVIII; *The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art* (American Research Center in Egypt, Cairo), Mainz 1979, figs. 108f; C. Aldred, *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt*, London 1951, pl. 168.

⁶ M. G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Caire*, Cairo 1906, 65f, pl. LXVIII (CG 42117).

⁷ *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, IV, 341.

⁸ W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* 2, Cambridge, Mass. 1959, fig. 219.

⁹ W. R. Dawson and E. P. Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology*, 2nd ed., London 1972, 115; R. G. Gayer-Anderson, *Christeros and other Poems*, Shrewsbury 1948.

¹⁰ J. Vandier (supra n. 5), pl. CVII, 6.

¹¹ K. Mysliwiec, *Le portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire* (Travaux du Centre d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne de l'Academie Polonaise des Sciences, vol. 18), Warsaw 1976, figs. 207 and 211.

¹² I. Lindblad (supra n. 4), 36 f.

¹³ *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* IV, 79 f.

¹⁴ See note 13.

Two Names – One Hand. A New Alabastron by the Pescia Romana Painter

Charlotte Wikander

A few years ago, it was decided that the collection of classical antiquities belonging to the National Museum in Stockholm should be deposited at the Medelhavsmuseet. The deposition included a very varied scope of objects, from bronze statuettes and figurines to examples of most styles of ancient pottery. Some of this pottery, Corinthian, Italian Iron Age and Etruscan (including Etrusco-Corinthian) had by this time already been published in *CVA Stockholm I* (1982), together with the material of the same categories belonging to Medelhavsmuseet. Recently, however, yet another unpublished vase from this collection appeared, an Etrusco-Corinthian alabastron (NM Ant 2347) of good quality.

It seemed of particular interest to publish it separately, since it enters into one of the discussions revolving around Etrusco-Corinthian painters in recent years. The problem in question is the proposed identity of two Etrusco-Corinthian painters, one, the Pescia Romana Painter, working in the polychrome manner, the other, the American Academy Painter, in black-figure.¹

The Pescia Romana Painter is a highly original artist, with only a total of nine vases attributed to his hand. Most of them are oinochoai and olpai, medium-sized shapes which bear his own characteristic, original animal friezes. The American Academy Painter has a much larger known *œuvre* in black-figure, and his shapes are mainly alabastra, plates, occasional oinochoai and aryballoai. The same characteristics and originality are expressed occasionally in the black-figure vases: the warrior on one of his best-known vases in the British Museum and a male siren on an alabastron in Oxford testify to his inventiveness.

The identification of these painters as one hand working in bilingual techniques has been proposed several times, at first tentatively, and recently asserted in a

positive manner by two eminent scholars of Etrusco-Corinthian pottery, J. G. Szilágyi and M. Martelli.² The alabastron in Stockholm in my opinion confirms this proposed identification.

Alabastron NM Ant 2347 is in black-figure technique (Figs. 1–4. H. 18.5 cm, max. diam. 9.9 cm). The main decoration consists of two antithetical lions; between them an owl with folded wings and three-pronged feet, standing on a large rosette fairly carefully executed with distinct, rounded petals. Seven smaller rosettes act as fillers. The back of the vase is occupied by the hind quarters of the felines. The tails cross, rise up in a curve and cross again at the tips. Perched above the tips is a large bird with folded wings.

The small rosettes making up the main part of the filling ornaments are summarily executed, varying between simply disc-shaped rosettes with a central cross and a slightly more elaborate, four-petaled rosette with stubby, rounded petals. The care put into the execution of the rosettes seems primarily to be a question of size. Behind the neck of one of the lions is a somewhat larger rosette divided into six petals; under the chin of the same lion the rosette is eight-petaled. Where there is room only for a very small rosette, this is disc-shaped. Care or the lack of it as seen in the shape of rosette is for this painter not primarily a question of a consistent manner, but subject to variation according to available space and size of the ornament.

An attribution to the American Academy Painter seems indisputable. The closest parallels to our alabastron are likewise alabastra by the hand of this painter: his name-vase (or the earlier name-vase) at the American Academy in Rome, the alabastron in the Ashmolean at Oxford and another in the British Museum.

The alabastron in Rome presents an almost identical composition (Figs. 5–6): two lions facing each other;



Fig. 1. Alabastron NM Ant 2347.



Fig. 2. Alabastron NM Ant 2347.

between them a bird; at the back, the same bird perched above the crossing tips of the feline tails. If we exchange the bird on the front side for an owl, we have a complete reproduction of the schema of the Stockholm alabastron. The treatment of the lions on the two vases is practically identical: the locks of the mane divided into two parts, one part with vertical strokes and the other placed diagonally in slightly curving lines; the whole mane delimited by a double contour line from the chin to the back of the neck. Equally characteristic, indeed one of the most recognizable features of the painter's individual hand, is the crescent shape of the jaw, recurring also on human or semi-human figures; the warrior of the London alabastron and the

male siren at Oxford exhibit the same trait. The face achieves this particular shape by a double curving contour running from the eye downwards and continuing as the contour of the chin. This delimitation at the back is always the same, whether the creature is animal or human; only the front profile indicates the species, with a muzzle or a nose. Another peculiarity of our painter is the division of the front haunches of the animals by a circular line, double contoured and filled with white dots.

One of the most decisive elements in the attribution of the Stockholm alabastron is the presence of one 'signature' animal: the owl, with its feathered body indicated by a scaly pattern. It is practically identical to

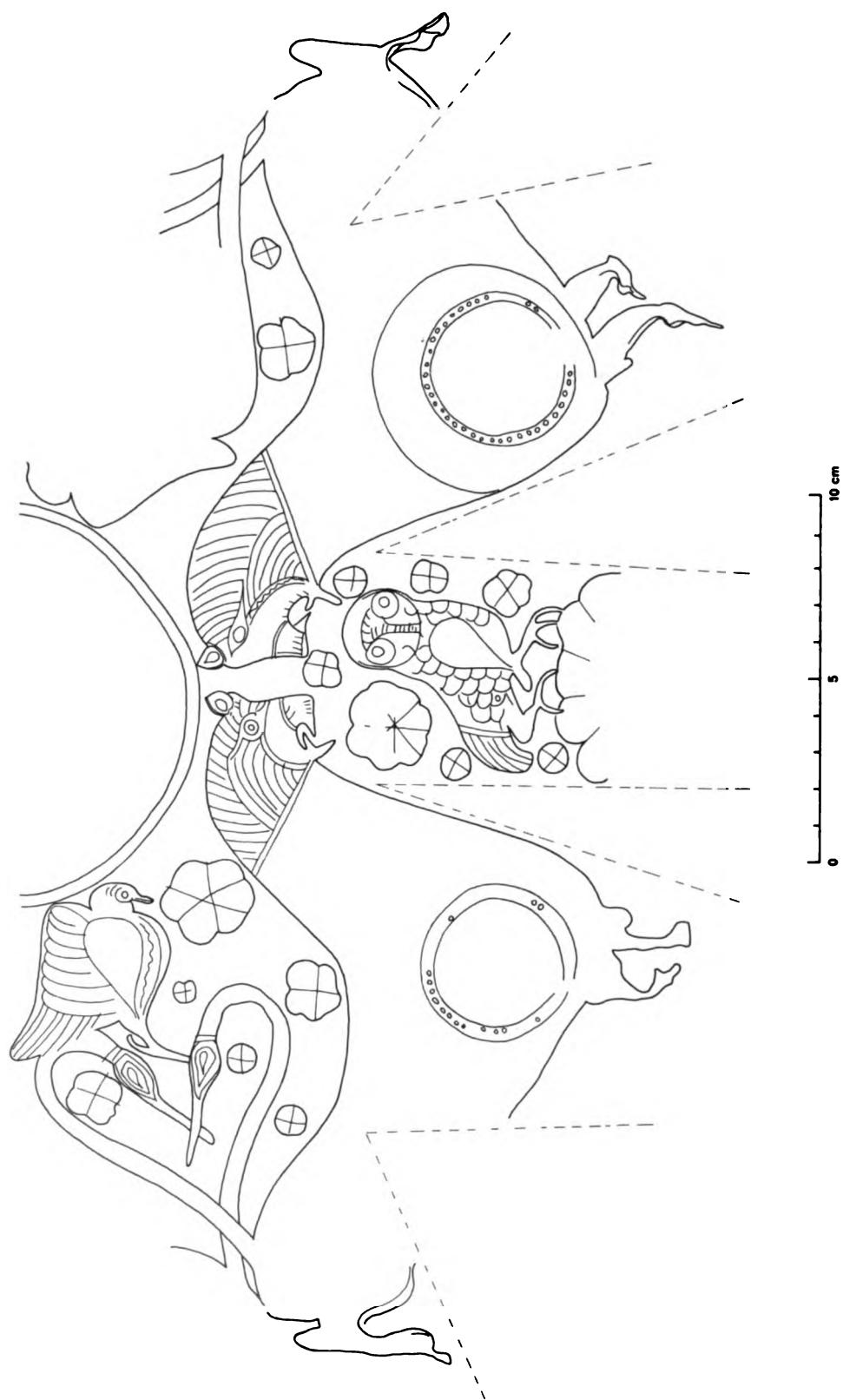


Fig. 3. Alabastron NM Ant 2347. Drawing by Ö. Wikander.

the owl on the alabastron in Oxford (Figs. 7–8). Here, too, it is perched on a large rosette, filling up an empty space. On the Oxford alabastron, the composition necessitates a number of changes. While both the American Academy and the Stockholm alabastra are characterized by a composition involving two animals facing each other, thus necessitating one filling animal between their fronts and another above their crossed tails, the Oxford alabastron has only one central figure while the London one has a warrior as a center piece, surrounded by two panthers. This exploration of possibilities for filling the available space on the body of an alabastron in fact seems typical of the original and explorative spirit of the painter. Still, with his experimentation in combining different elements in various ways, the single motifs are perfectly recognizable as being part of his repertoire. On the Oxford vase, the massive body of the bearded siren fills the whole front part. Its pair of wings, curving downwards, almost meet at the back, while the owl fills out the intervening space above a rosette. The two owls are obvious brothers: the scaly bodies and the tails are exactly the same, the substitution of a normal owl's beak for the nose of a Corinthian panther is the same for both the birds. The painter's taste for experiment and variation is obvious here as well: on the Stockholm vase, the owl is given two distinct legs and even a rounded shoulder to the foreleg; one of the lines across the bridge of the nose (muzzle) is elaborated into a double-contoured band with small, vertical strokes inside it.

The connections with the polychrome vases of the Pescia Romana Painter are many. The treatment of lions' manes from our vase and the series of short vertical strokes along the lion mouth recur on his olpe in Lugano;³ the characteristic, crescent-shaped faces recur on his sphinxes both on the Lugano olpe, the Bern olpe and the Stockholm oinochoe.⁴ On his animals, the delimitation of haunches in black-figure with a circular, dotted border is abbreviated; he uses the same curve, but without dots. Finally, there is his preference for owls, otherwise no common creature in the Etrusco-Corinthian repertoire.⁵ Early Corinthian owls differ distinctly from those presented by the Pescia Romana painter; the former have a distinct beak, and no scaly feathers.⁶ The elaboration of the owl and the addition of a panther-like nose instead of a beak, as mentioned above, seems to be the painter's own invention, recurring in all his owls.⁷

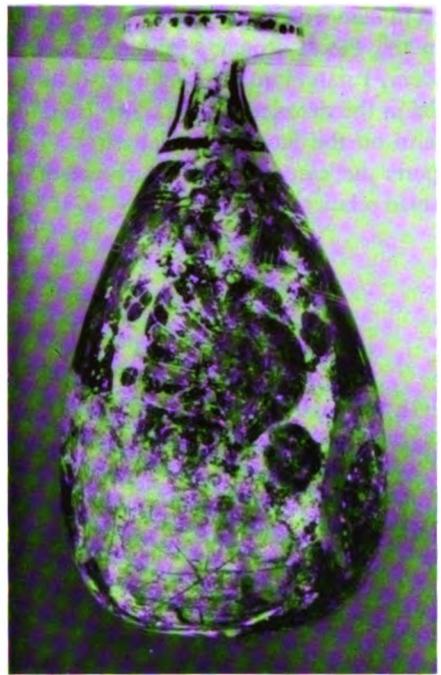
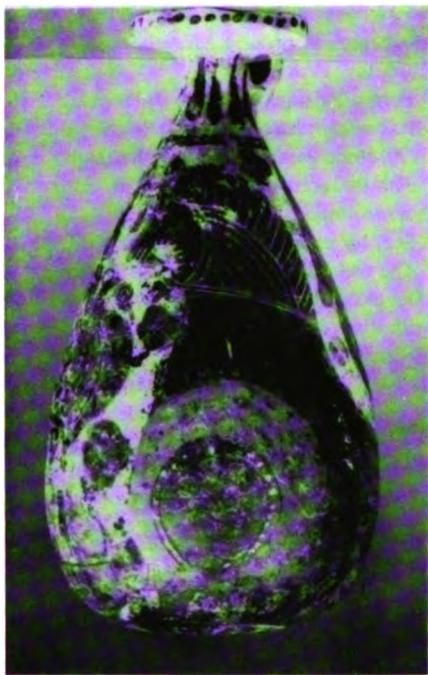
The painter uses the owl, in black-figure and polychrome, in three different guises: with wings folded and



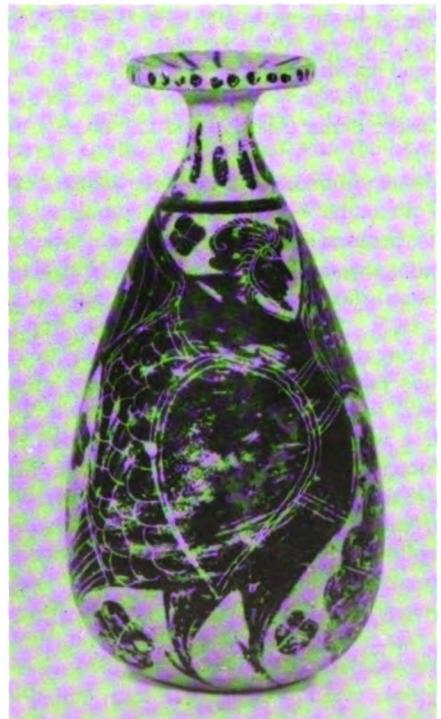
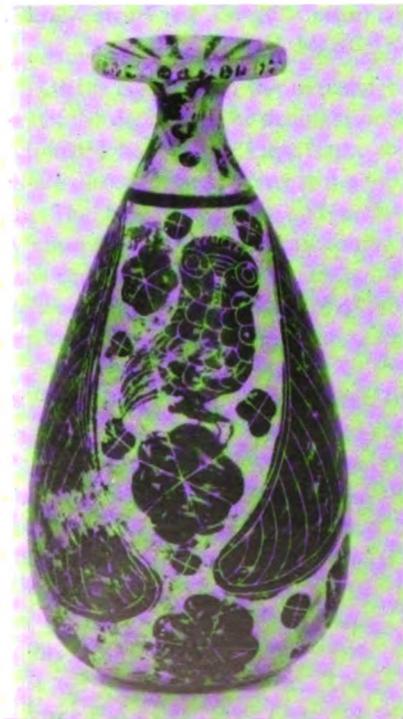
Fig. 4. Alabastron NM Ant 2347.

two legs (Stockholm alabastron); wings folded and one leg (Oxford alabastron, Ticino olpe); and finally with outspread wings (Stockholm oinochoe). In common, apart from their noses and feathered bodies, they all have a series of short strokes on the forehead resembling a short fringe of hair.

One animal which is a favorite when the painter works in black-figure but does not appear in the polychrome production, is the profile bird which on our vase sits above the crossed tail-tips of the lions. It is regularly used on his alabastra, and plays a most prominent part in the decoration of the plate in Moscow, where two pairs of such birds face each other over rosettes. On one of his few known aryballoii, this bird performs the same filling function as on the alabastra, between the wing-tips of a winged panther.⁸ They are clearly related to the birds used by the Feoli painter (Mingor painter) for filling up space in animal friezes and, on an alabastron by this painter in Berkeley, fill the same function as on our painter's alabastra: sitting between antithetical animals (in this case sphinxes) and above their crossing tails.⁹



Figs. 5 & 6. Alabastron in the American Academy in Rome (from J. G. Szilágyi, 'Remarques sur les vases étrusco-corinthiens de l'exposition étrusque de Vienne', *ArchCl* 20, 1968, pl. XI).



Figs. 7 & 8. Alabastron in Oxford (from Szilágyi, *ArchCl* 20, 1968, pl. XII).

The closeness in mannerisms prompting the identification between the Pescia Romana Painter and the American Academy Painter into one single personality, working in Vulci in the decades c. 600-c. 580, is eminently present also on the Stockholm alabastron. The vase thus supports the case as hitherto presented by Etrusco-Corinthian scholars.

Acknowledgements: I would like to thank Ms. Carole Gillis, Lund, for checking the English of the manuscript.

The following abbreviation is used in addition to those recommended by the *American Journal of Archaeology* (AJA 90, 1986, 384-394): *La pittura vascolare* = *La ceramica degli Etruschi. La pittura vascolare*, ed. M. Martelli, Novara 1987.

¹ For the bibliography of the Pescia Romana Painter, see Ch. Wikander, 'The Pescia Romana Painter in Stockholm', *Med-MusB* 23, 1988, 39, n. 1. To this can now be added M. Martelli, in *La pittura vascolare*, 27, 278, 281 f. For the American Academy Painter (at an early stage, in 1967, referred to by Amyx as the Warrior Painter), bibliography likewise in Ch. Wikander, *ibidem*, 39 f., nn. 23 f. The same references as above to be added from *La pittura vascolare*. The plate in Moscow by his hand has also been recently published in *Die Welt der Etrusker. Archäologische Denkmäler aus Museen der sozialistischen Länder*, Berlin 1988, 120 and 129, no. B 4.10 (W. Dobrowolski).

On the questions of identification of these two painters, cf. *infra*, n. 2.

² This identification has been suggested or proposed in more or less definite form for almost ten years, first by M. Martelli in *Prima Italia. L'Arte italica del I millennio a.C.* (Museo L. Pigorini, Roma EUR, 18 marzo-30 aprile 1981), Roma 1981, 104. In the same year is reported an identification by J. G. Szilágyi in *Antik Tanulmanyok* 1981, 107 (reference given by W. Dobrowolski, *supra* n. 1). It is also referred to by E. Mangani in *Case e palazzi* (Catalogue of the exhibition at Siena), ed. S. Stopponi, Firenze 1985, 79, and by K. M. Phillips, Jr., 'Masks on a canopic urn and an Etrusco-Corinthian perfume pot', in *Italian Iron Age artefacts in the British Museum* (Papers of the Sixth British Museum Classical Colloquium), ed. J. Swaddling, London 1986, 153, n. 24. Cf. also Ch. Wikander (*supra* n. 1), 36 and 38. M. Martelli, in *La pittura vascolare*, 278, now refers to the identification being indisputable, citing M. Martelli, 'The Pescia Romana Painter: a bilingual vase painter' and J. G. Szilágyi, 'Etrusco-Corinthian bilingualism', both in *Corinthiaca. Studies in honour of D. A. Amyx*, Columbia 1986. This volume has not yet been accessible to me at the time of submission of this article.

³ F. P. Porten Palange, 'Olpe etrusco-corinzia in una collezione privata ticinese', *Numismatiche e antichità classiche* 5, 1976, tav. IV:8

⁴ Porten Palange (*supra* n. 3), tav. III:5; I. Jucker, *Aus der Antikensammlung des Bernischen Historischen Museums*, Bern 1970, frontispiece; Ch. Wikander (*supra* n. 1), figs. 3 f.

⁵ For the occurrences of owls in Corinthian, cf. H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, Oxford 1931, 76.

⁶ See, for example, Payne (*supra* n. 5), pl. 18:5.

⁷ The owl can be found in the later Etrusco-Corinthian group 'Dei galli affrontati' but is there rendered extremely carelessly, with wings adapted from the swan's wings common in the later Etrusco-Corinthian work. Cf. *Die Welt der Etrusker*, (*supra* n. 1) 131 f., no. B 4.20 (V. Kästner). It is also present in the animal repertoire of the Feoli painter, M. Martelli in *Pittura vascolare*, 282, and in the Tarquinian workshops which inherit many of his mannerisms and those of the Pescia Romana Painter; cf. J. G. Szilágyi, 'Le fabbriche di ceramica etrusco-corinzia a Tarquinia', *StEtr* 40, 1972, 31-34, tav. V:d (Pittore senza Graffito).

⁸ *Pittura vascolare*, fig. on p. 282.

⁹ D. A. Amyx, 'The Mingor Painter and others: Etrusco-Corinthian addenda', *StEtr* 35, 1967, 95 f., tavv. XXXVII-XXXVIII. Identified as the Feoli Painter by M. Martelli; 'Per il Pittore di Feoli', *Prospettiva* 11, 1972, 2-11; *eadem* in *La pittura vascolare*, 282 f. The bird is further bastardized by the Vitelleschi Painter in his vases from Tarquinia; cf. J. G. Szilágyi (*supra* n. 7), tav. I:a; *Pittura vascolare*, no. 80, pp. 129, 287-288 (M. Martelli).

A Votive Relief in Stockholm

Lars Amnestål

At the Medelhavsmuseet a marble votive relief depicting a sacrificial scene is now on display (Fig. 1).¹ It belongs to the collections of the National Museum in Stockholm (Inv. No. NM Sk 201). The stele is of a yellowish-white marble and is of rectangular shape. It carries a square relief panel in its upper part. Below the relief panel there are traces of an inscription.

The stele is 0.63 m high and 0.44 m wide. On each side, c. 0.15 m below the top, there is a step, below which the stele is slightly less wide than above (Fig. 2). The function of this step is unknown. The thickness of the stele is 0.09 m.

The front is badly damaged. The bottom, right-hand corner is broken off. On the relief scene, due to damage to the surface, many of the details can be distinguished only in outline, such as the head of the large figure to the right. The sides are also damaged, whereas the top is better preserved. The back is smooth and undamaged. It is partly covered with a dark-green colour, which is probably the remains of a recent mounting of the relief. At the right edge and on the lower part of the front, there are remains of the same green colour as on the back.

The relief panel in the upper part of the front is surrounded by a frame, 0.05 m wide at the top and on the left side, 0.04 m wide at the right side. The panel is 0.345 m high and 0.35 m wide. The relief depth is 0.033 m. In each of the upper corners of the panel, there is a tiny square projection of the frame, the reason for which is unknown.

The panel shows to the right a large male figure, holding a patera in his right hand and sacrificing at an altar to the left. At the altar, which carries a relief decoration, a bird, a tree and a small male figure can be seen. The large male figure was apparently shown in frontal view with the head turned towards the specta-

tor, although only the outline of the head can now be seen indicating that the hair was kept long. He is dressed in a chiton and a long himation reaching down to the ankles. He is standing with his legs slightly apart. The right leg is slightly bent and the foot is moved somewhat towards the right with the weight of the body on the left leg. He is holding his left arm and hand raised high (possibly holding a sceptre or a spear) with the arm bent at the elbow and the himation forming a vertical bunch of folds falling down along his left side. In his right hand, which is stretched obliquely down towards the altar to the left, he is holding a sacrificial patera, of which, due to damage, only the circular outline can now be seen. To the left of the large figure, a bird, apparently an eagle, is sitting on the ground, turned towards the left but with the head looking back towards the man. The wing to the right of the bird is pointing down to the right, whereas the one to the left is shown *en face*. Immediately to the left of the bird, a tree is growing with two branches at the top carrying large leaves. The left-hand branch has six leaves and the right-hand one has four. The lower part of the tree trunk is hidden behind the wing of the bird. To the left of the tree and the bird, at the left edge of the panel, is an altar decorated on its side with a relief of the fore part of a bull turned towards the right. The right foreleg of the bull is placed in front of the left. Seemingly, the altar is not completely visible, being partly hidden by the frame of the panel. At the left edge of the panel, there is also a small figure with its lower part hidden behind the altar and turned towards the right. This figure is also rather badly damaged; presumably it is a male figure.

Below the relief panel, there is a three-line inscription, of which only faint traces can be seen. The height of the letters is 2 cm and the space between the lines is 1



Fig. 1. The Stockholm stele NM Sk 201.

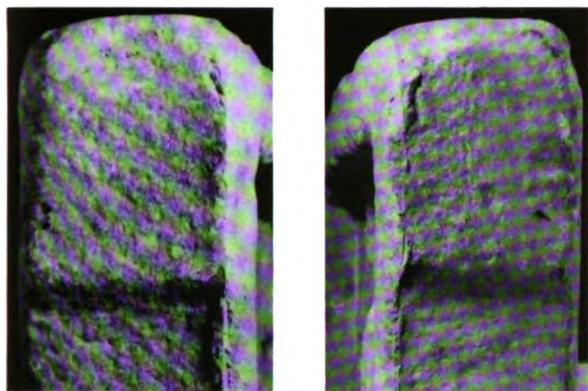
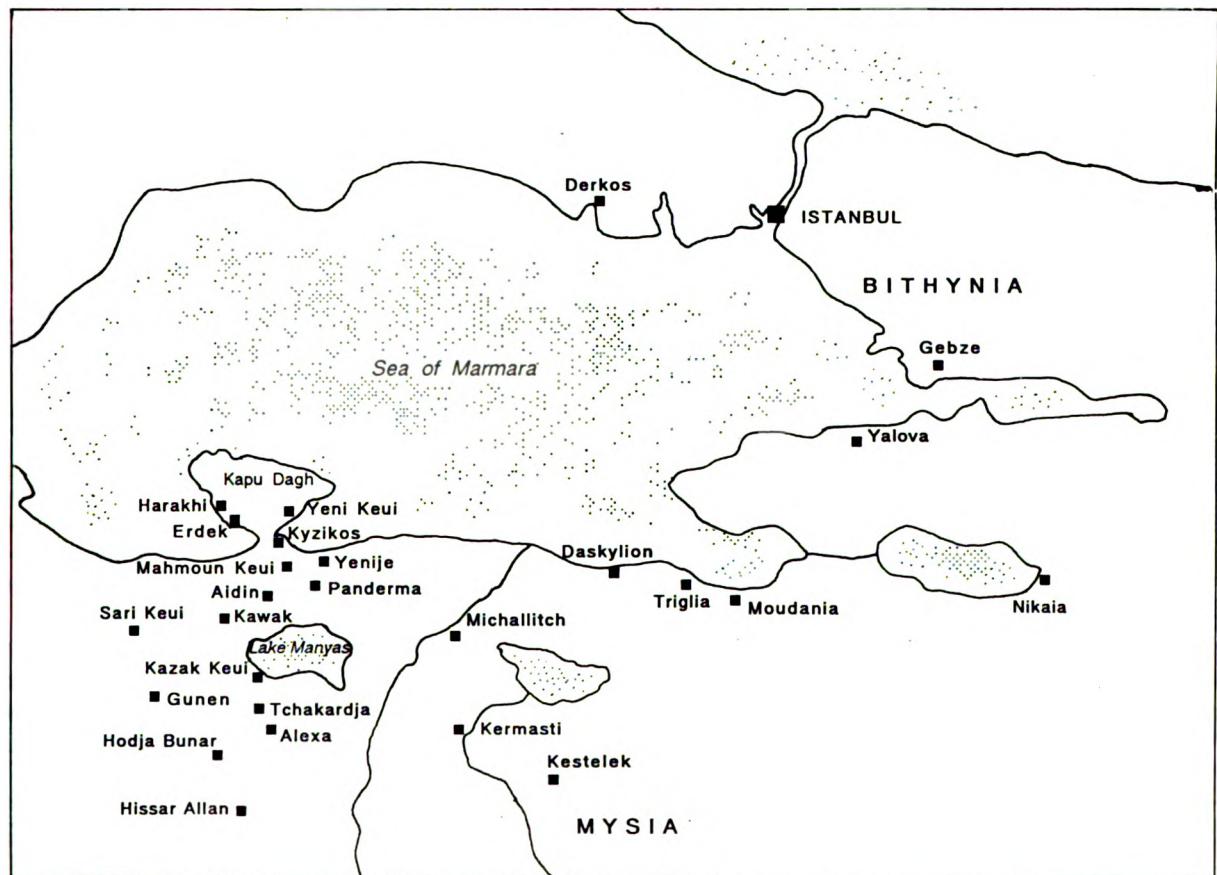


Fig. 2. Details of NM Sk 201, showing step on left and right side, respectively.

Fig. 3. Sketch map with sites mentioned in the text.



cm; the normal width of the letters is 1.5 cm and the space between them is 0.5 cm. This indicates that there may have been about 19 letters in each of the first two lines, being *c.* 38 cm long. The first line seems to start with an indistinguishable letter, followed by a *v*. After damage about 11 letters long, follows *gov* and a space for three more letters; the second line starts after about two unreadable letters with an *ε*, followed, after further damage 18 cm long (*i.e. c.* 10 letters), by a *v* and about five more letters; the third line, which seems to have been shorter and centred below the others, may have had about five letters, of which only a final *v* can be read.

In the inventory of the National Museum, no provenance is given for this relief, which entered the Museum before 1868, nor is there any such information in the printed catalogues of the Museum.² There is, however, a reasonable possibility of establishing the region of provenance for it. A number of more or less close parallels to it originate in north-western Asia Minor (Fig. 3). Several of the iconographical details in it ap-

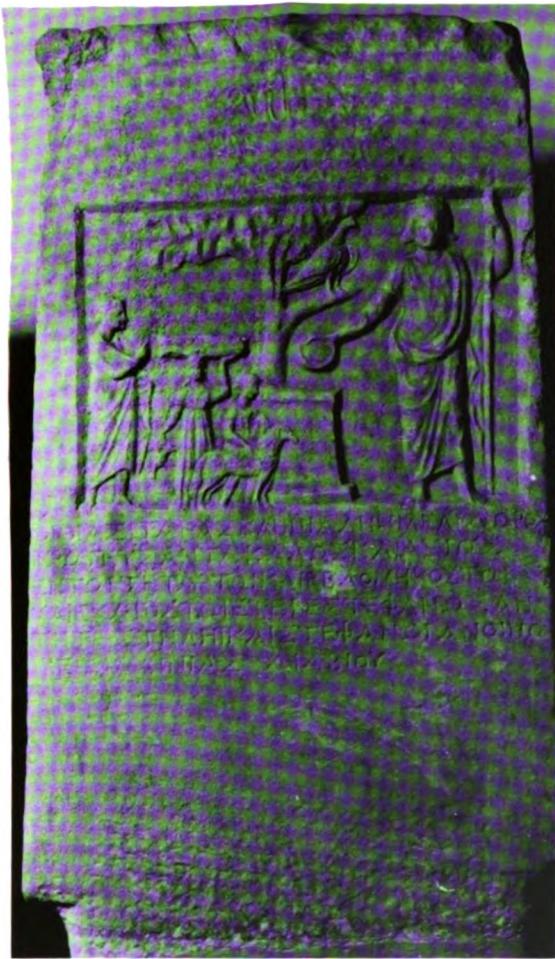


Fig. 4. No. 1. Athens, National Museum no. 1486.



Fig. 5. No. 2. Private collection, Switzerland.

pear in this area in combinations more or less similar to those of the Stockholm relief. These reliefs include a sacrificing male figure, a bird and an altar, and sometimes also a tree, a sacrificial animal and one or more small human figures.³ All of them were seemingly dedicated to Zeus, even though some do not have inscriptions.

1. Athens, National Museum no. 1486 (Fig. 4). From Kestelek, Kyzikos, Daskylion or Triglia in Mysia or Nikaia in Bithynia. This relief depicts a standing god to the right, holding a patera and a staff, sacrificing at an altar in the centre, behind which there is a tree with an

eagle perched on one of its branches close to the god. To the left, three worshippers are standing with a sacrificial animal. Below the relief panel is a six-line inscription honouring the priest Asklepiades. Above the relief is an ornamental wreath.

Bibl.: Conze 1865, 61, pl. 18; Munro 1897, 278 (29); Perdrizet 1899, 593 f. (3); Edhem Bey 1908, 524⁴; Hasluck 1910, 224 & 268 (Inscr. III: 20A); Svoronos 1937, 619 f., pl. 112, no. 1486; Karousou 1968, 187; Karousou 1977, 84.

2. Private collection, Switzerland (Fig. 5). Said to originate from the Kyzikos area. This relief shows a standing god to the right, with patera and staff like the

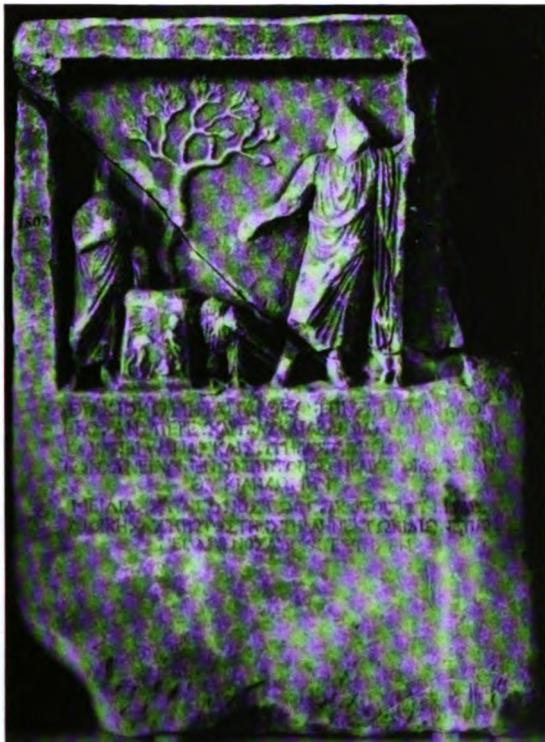


Fig. 6. No. 3. Istanbul Museum, no. 1503. From Mahmoun Keui.

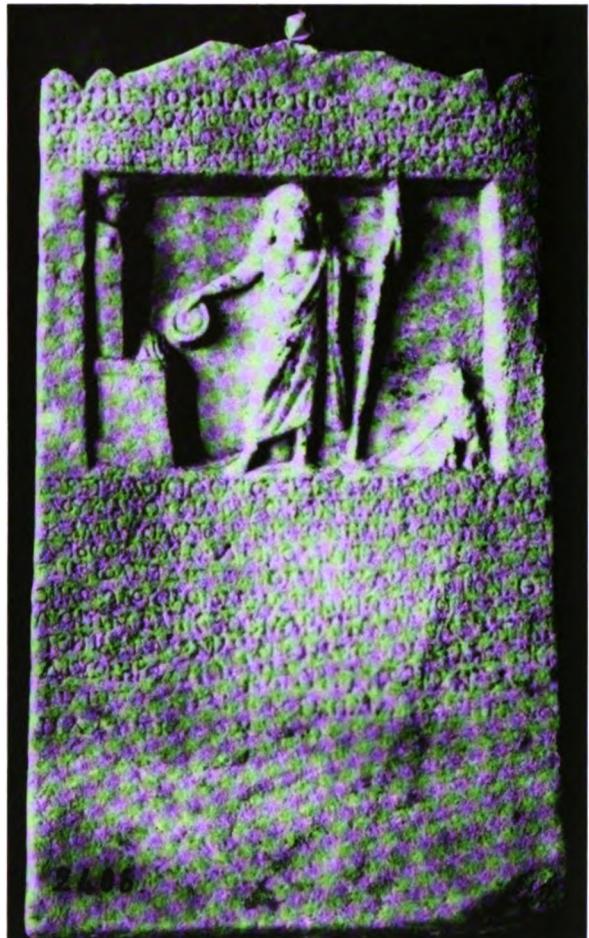


Fig. 7. No. 4. Istanbul Museum, no. 2406. From Panderma.

previous one, and sacrificing at an altar in the centre, behind which stands a tree with a bird on a branch. There are four worshippers and a sacrificial animal to the left. In a panel below is depicted a sacrificial bull. A two-line inscription below the main relief panel contains a dedicatory inscription to Zeus Aithrios. Below the inscription, another relief panel showing a bull.

Bibl.: Robert 1983, 545–548.

3. Istanbul Museum no. 1503 (Fig. 6). From Mahmoun Keui, Panderma district. In this relief there is to the right a standing male figure with patera and staff, in the centre an eagle and to the left an altar with a tree behind. On the front of the altar a sacrificial animal is depicted and to the left of the altar a worshipper is

standing. Above the relief panel is a two-line dedication to Zeus Chalazios and below the panel is an eight-line inscription giving more details concerning the dedication.

Bibl.: Hasluck 1904, 21; Edhem Bey 1908, 524; Hasluck 1910, 224, 272 (Inscr. IV: 23); Mendel 1914, 42, no. 837; Robert 1950, 63, pl. 2.

4. Istanbul Museum no. 2406 (acquired in 1911; Fig. 7). From Panderma. In the centre a standing male figure with patera and staff; to the right, an eagle, to the left, an altar and herm. Fifteen-line inscription with dedication to Zeus Dorios.

Bibl.: Mendel III 1914, no. 838; Robert 1955, 17–24, pls. 5 & 43.

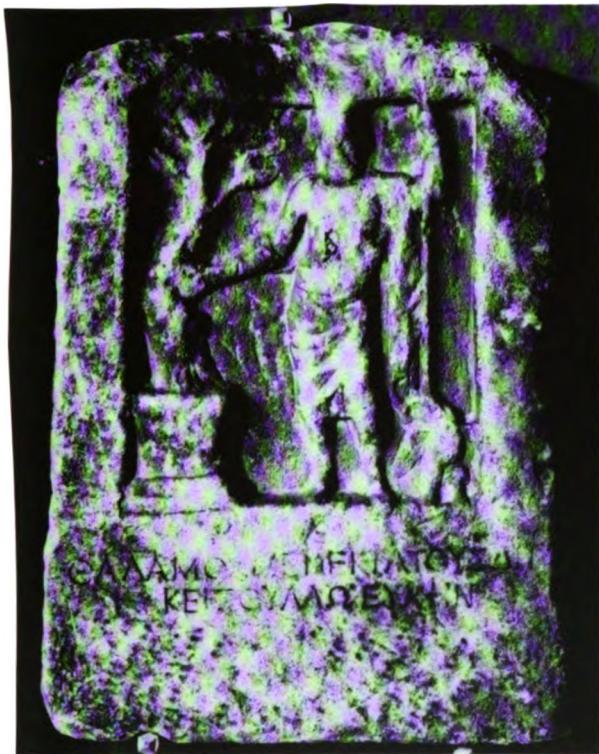


Fig. 8. No. 5. Istanbul Museum, no. 751.

5. Istanbul Museum No. 751 (acquired in 1896 at Istanbul customs; Fig. 8). In centre standing male figure with patera and staff; to the right eagle, to the left altar and tree. Two-line dedicatory inscription to Zeus Kersoullos.

Bibl.: Hausollier 1898, 167 f.; Mendel III 1914, 44, no. 839.

6. British Museum No. 2151. From Kyzikos area (Sari Keui). To the right standing male figure with patera and staff; to the left altar, small bull and tree. Six-line inscription.

Bibl.: Lolling 1884, 58 (3); Murray 1891, 10–12; Perdrizet 1899, 594 (5), pl. V:2; Smith 1904, 224; Edhem Bey 1908, 524⁴; Hasluck 1910, 224, 272 (IV: 30); We-gener 1985, no. 209.

7. Istanbul Museum No. 4724 (Fig. 9). From Derkos. In centre standing male figure with patera and staff; to the right eagle, to the left altar. Two-line dedicatory inscription to Zeus Komatikos.

Bibl.: SEG XV 423; Robert 1955, 38 & pl. VIII:2.

8. Istanbul Museum No. 4725. From Derkos. Lower part of stele: in centre standing figure; to the right bird,

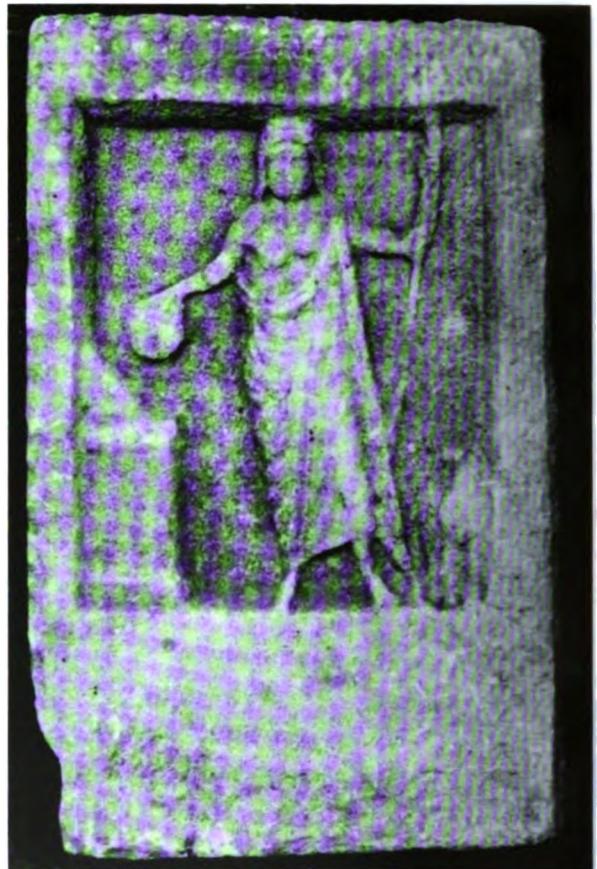


Fig. 9. No. 7. Istanbul Museum, no. 4724. From Derkos.

to the left altar. Below relief panel four-line dedicatory inscription to Zeus Komatikos. At bottom low relief decoration of man in centre surrounded by one bull on each side.

Bibl.: SEG XV 425; Robert 1955, 43–45, pl. IX:2.

9. Istanbul Museum No. 4402 (Fig. 10). From Gebze, Bithynia. In centre male standing figure with patera and staff; to the right eagle, to the left altar and herm. Above and below relief five-line inscription.

Bibl.: SEG XV 776; Robert 1955, 46–62 & pls. XI:2, XX:2–3.

10. Istanbul Museum No. 4857 (Excavation find in 1947; Fig. 11). From Yalova area. Upper part of stele showing male standing figure in centre; to the right eagle and female standing figure, to the left altar and boy on podium. Above relief three-line dedicatory inscription to Zeus Brontaios and Demeter.

Bibl.: Robert 1949, 30–32, pl. VI:2–3.

11. Istanbul Museum No. 3855. From Kazak Keui.

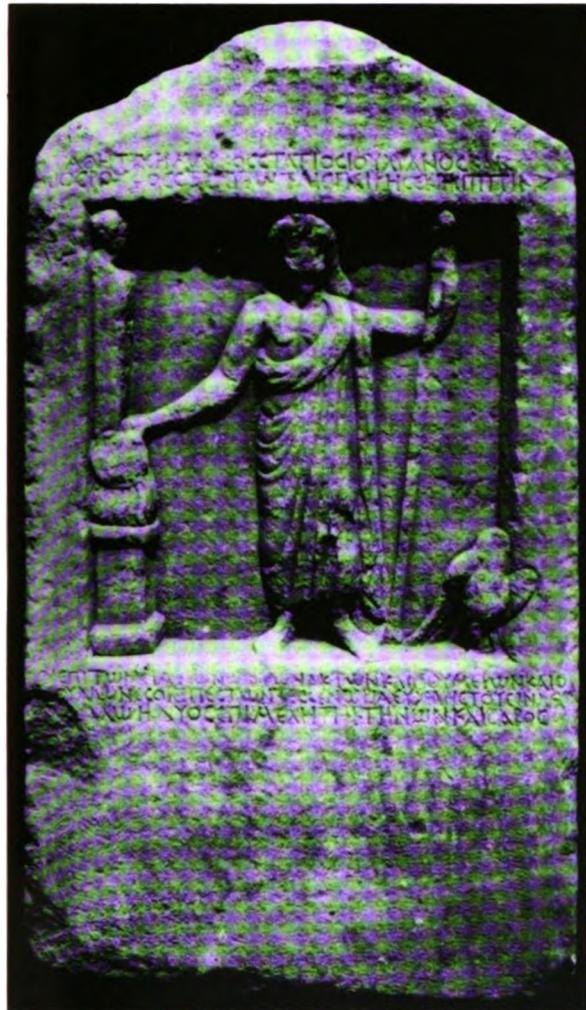


Fig. 10. No. 9. Istanbul Museum, no. 4402. From Gebze.

Upper part of stele: to the right standing male figure with patera and staff; to the left altar, sacrificial animal with boy behind its head, two small human figures, tree and eagle.

Bibl.: Hasluck 1904, 22, fig. 2; Edhem Bey 1908, 524⁴; Hasluck 1910, 225; Wegener 1985, 322, no. 207.

12. Istanbul Museum No. 1909 (Fig. 12). From Kawak in Panderma area. In centre standing male figure with patera and staff; to the right eagle, to the left altar. Below main panel small panel: in centre altar, bull and boy with axe; to the right boy and man, to the left woman and girl. At bottom three-line dedicatory inscription to Zeus Olbios.

Bibl.: Edhem Bey 1908, pls. 5 f.; Hasluck 1910, 223 ff., 272 (IV: 16); Mendel III 1914, 39 f., no. 836.



Fig. 11. No. 10. Istanbul Museum, no. 4857. From Yalova.



Fig. 12. No. 12. Istanbul Museum, no. 1909. From Kawak.

Of the following stelas no illustrations have, to my knowledge, been published. Published descriptions indicate, however, that they should be included in the list, as stelas dedicated to Zeus. According to the descriptions they all depict a standing god, an eagle and an altar. Sometimes there is also a tree, an animal, one or more adorants and an inscription.

13. From Panderma. Depicts according to Hasluck a standing male figure with patera and staff, and an eagle. Said to be almost identical with No. 1 above.

Bibl.: Hasluck 1903, 80 (19); Edhem Bey 1908, 524⁴; Hasluck 1910, 272 (IV: 27).

14. From Panderma district. Said to be similar to No. 11; there is also an eagle sitting on the ground. Inscription.

Bibl.: Hasluck 1905, 56 (5); Edhem Bey 1908, 524⁴; Hasluck 1910, 272 (IV: 21).

15. From Alexa, Panderma district, in the valley of Karadere and Tarsios. Relief with same contents as Nos. 13 and 14. Below the panel two-line inscription giving details about the votive gift.

Bibl.: Hasluck 1906, 28 (6); Edhem Bey 1908, 524⁴.

16. From Hodja Bunar. Standing Zeus in himation with patera and staff, tree with an eagle and an altar. Dated to hipparchate of Drusus Caesar.

Bibl.: Hasluck 1904, 28 (28); Edhem Bey 1908, 524⁴; Hasluck 1910, 272 (IV: 28).

17. From Yeni Keui. Said to be a parallel to No. 16, at least as regards the inscription. Possible date same as No. 16.

Bibl.: Hasluck 1905, 60 (21); Edhem Bey 1908, 524⁴.

18. From Hissar Alan. Sacrifice of a bull to Zeus. Inscription.

Bibl.: Wiegand 1904, 300; Hasluck 1905, 60 (19); Edhem Bey 1908, 524⁴; Hasluck 1910, 225 (10).

19. From Triglia, Moudania district. Zeus with staff and patera; eagle sitting on the ground; in centre tree and altar; to the left two worshippers and a sacrificial animal; dedicatory inscription to Zeus Chalazios Sozon. According to Legrand dated by the inscription to 1st century A.D.

Bibl.: Legrand 1893, 545 (32); Perdrizet 1899, 594 (4); Edhem Bey 1908, 524⁴; Hasluck 1910, 224 & 269 (III: 36).

20. From Tchakardja in the Mihallitch district. Sacrifice of bull with four worshippers, bull and altar. Below panel inscription to Zeus Brontaios.

Bibl.: Hasluck 1907, 66 (12); Edhem Bey 1908, 524⁴.

21. From Harakhi. Zeus, animal and altar.

Bibl.: Hasluck 1904, 29; Hasluck 1910, 224 (7).

22. From Kermasti. To the right standing Zeus with staff and patera; in centre altar with animal in front, facing right; behind animal kneeling person; to the left person with arms crossed over chest, facing the god. Below panel a second panel with two men. Below, an inscription. According to Hasluck this panel is similar to that of No. 3.

Bibl.: Cichorius 1889, 249 (19); Hasluck 1910, 225 (9), 268 (III:26).

23. From Mihallitch. Votive relief to Zeus Hypsistos Brontaios. Parallel to No. 3 according to Hasluck.

Bibl.: Joubin, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques et romaines du Musée Impérial Ottoman*, no. 126; Waddington, *Inscriptions d'Asie Mineure*, no. 1099; Hasluck 1904, 22; Edhem Bey 1908, 524⁴.

24. From Monastery of St. Anna, Yenije district. Zeus, tree and eagle; in centre, altar. Said to be similar to Nos. 6 and 19 and to banqueting scene on British Museum no. 817.

Bibl.: Hasluck 1904, 36 (58a-b).

The right-hand side of the Stockholm relief is dominated by a large, standing, male figure. The identification of this figure presents no problems thanks to the reliefs listed above. All these stelae are dedicated to Zeus. This is shown by the inscriptions on most of them. Together with the presence of the eagle, the inscriptions make it clear that this figure, depicted as sacrificing, is to be identified as Zeus and not as any other god, nor as a priest. That gods were shown as sacrificing in this area is documented on other votive reliefs showing both Zeus and other gods as sacrificing, holding pateras in their hands.⁴ In the choice between different gods, it can in this connexion be noted that the present god is distinguished by his dress from other possible identifications. For instance, Apollo (identified by the kithara) is in Hellenistic times in this area dressed in only a chiton⁵ and Dionysos (identified by the thyrsos) in short chiton and boots.⁶ It is therefore clear that all the reliefs listed above are dedicated to Zeus. From the inscriptions, it is, however, apparent that the similarities between the representations do not mean that there was only one sanctuary dedicated to one local Zeus in this area. The epithets on the various votive reliefs indicate that we may have a number of local sanctuaries dedicated to Zeus in the area. These epithets are Chalazios Sozon (Nos. 3 & 19), Brontaios (No. 10), Komatikos (Nos. 7 & 8), Olbios (No. 12), Dorios (No. 4) and Aithrios (No. 2).

In the Stockholm relief, the eagle is, of course, the most important detail as regards the identification of the large male figure as Zeus. The related reliefs listed above, all showing a large standing figure of Zeus, also give the best possible support to this identification. Among all the Mysian votive reliefs to Zeus listed above, there is one which is strikingly similar to the Stockholm relief. This is No. 3 (Istanbul Museum no. 1503) from Mahmoun Keui in the Panderma area, near Kyzikos, which differs only in details from the Stockholm relief. The god is in both reliefs standing in the same posture. It is, however, especially interesting to note that the god is dressed in exactly the same way, carrying a chiton under a long himation, which is draped to create a solid, vertical bunch of folds falling down along his side. In the other reliefs belonging to the Mysian group the god is normally shown without the chiton and never with the himation folds arranged in the same way. This may indicate that we here have a representation of a specific cult statue.

A second point of similarity between the Stockholm relief and relief No. 3 is that the eagle is sitting in the same posture in both reliefs, with the body turned towards the left and the head looking back to the right toward the god. The right wing, as seen from the spectator's point of view, is spread out in profile, whereas the left wing is seen frontally. In reliefs Nos. 1, 2 and 11, the eagle is drawn in profile and sitting on a branch in the tree, near the god and looking at him. In other reliefs, it is sitting on the ground at the right-hand edge of the panel, either drawn frontally with outspread wings (Nos. 5, 7, 9, 10, 12 and maybe 8) or drawn in profile and then turned right with the head looking backwards toward the god, who is then standing in the centre of the panel (No. 4).⁷

In the left part of the relief there is a large tree. It is interesting to note that in Hellenistic reliefs in which a tree occurs, it almost always divides the scene into a right-hand part occupied by the god and his attribute and a left-hand part occupied by the worshippers and/or priest and the sacrificial victim. The altar is often depicted right in front of the tree.⁸ The composition of the Stockholm relief seems to confirm this rule. In this case, however, the tree is moved very far towards the left, leaving only a small portion of the relief to the sacrifice proper. In relief No. 3, the position of the tree, which primarily differs in having three branches instead of two and in having smaller and more numerous leaves, is very much the same as in the Stockholm relief, but here the altar has a more central position in

front of the tree. As regards the tree, it is not obvious what kind of tree it is intended to depict. In this connexion it is interesting to note an inscription from Gunen, in the Kyzikos district, which mentions the white poplar as a tree that was associated to Zeus and Herakles in this area.⁹ A certain fine was to be paid if such a poplar was cut down. This suggests that some of the trees in the Kyzikos area reliefs, sacred to Zeus, could have been white poplars rather than oaks, which would otherwise be the obvious choice for identification. According to S. Wegener, trees do not occur in any kind of relief until the middle of the 4th century B.C. in the Ionian area.¹⁰ In the Hellenistic period, the tree came to symbolize the countryside and especially rural sanctuaries, as seems to be the case in the present reliefs.

To the left of the tree, the sacrificial altar is standing at the left edge of the panel. Seemingly it is partly cut by the frame of the panel. Often a sacrificial animal is standing beside the altar in such votive reliefs. In the present relief, however, there is apparently instead a relief decoration of the forepart of a bull on the side of the altar that is turned towards the spectator. That the animal is replaced by a relief on the altar is a detail that in the present group of reliefs occurs only in the Stockholm relief and relief No 3. In this material a difference concerning the posture of different animals may also be noticed. Sheep and goats are drawn in profile and no details are indicated (see, for example, Nos. 1 and 2). When the animal is a bull or a cow, it is drawn in a specific way. One of its front legs is drawn backwards under the body and the other one is stretched forwards, as in the Stockholm relief.¹¹ It is possible that the bull was tied by its neck to the ground with a rope when the ceremony was to begin. There is a relief from Aidin in the Kyzikos area in which there is a rope, a loop fastened in the ground and a man making preparations for the ceremony.¹² In relief No. 2, the rope and the loop are clearly visible in the lower relief panel.¹³

At the left edge of the relief panel there is finally the upper part of a small human figure. To the left in many of the listed reliefs, there are one or more small human figures. These are apparently worshippers taking part in the depicted sacrifice. In the cases in which there is only one single person, this may also be a priest. The little figure at the left-hand edge of the Stockholm relief is clearly to be seen as such a person, partly hidden behind the sacrificial altar, whereas in relief No. 3 the worshipper, or priest, is standing to the left of the altar instead of behind it.

As the comparison between the Stockholm relief and the group of Mysian votive reliefs to Zeus has shown, there is a very great similarity between this relief and relief No 3. There is also a technical point of similarity between the two reliefs: At the top corners of the panel the frames have tiny square projections, visible at the top left corner of No. 3 and at both upper corners of the present relief. Together with the striking stylistic similarity, this undoubtedly means that they are contemporary and come from the same workshop. Whether it also means that they were both dedicated to Zeus Chalazios cannot be proved. It is, however, possible that the similarities, especially as regards the posture and dress of the god and the altar being decorated with a relief, can be interpreted as representing a specific cult image and a specific altar. This may mean that the Stockholm relief was also dedicated to Zeus Chalazios, since relief No. 3 was dedicated to that god.¹⁴

The inscription on the Stockholm relief is unfortunately too badly damaged to be read. It is, however, clear that there was no inscription above the relief panel and that the inscription below the panel had a length of three lines. The third line is centred under the first two lines. The first line starts with a space for one letter before a *v*; this is followed, after damage 11 letters long, by the letters *gov* and space for another three letters. I suggest that this is the beginning of the dedication to the god and that it contained the name of the dedicator and the patronymic ending *gov*; for the second line, I can suggest no reading, but I believe that this space contained the name of the god. As regards the third line, it is about five letters long and ends with a *v*. I therefore suggest that this line contained the word *εὐχήν* (dedication, ex-voto). Reliefs Nos. 2 and 5 above can be referred to as parallel cases to this suggested reading. They also carry inscriptions of about the same length ending with the word *εὐχήν*.¹⁵

As regards the inscription on stele No. 3, which is of special interest since the relief is so close stylistically to the Stockholm relief, it contains two lines above the relief, reading *Ζεύς Χαλάζιος σώζων/έπι Διονυσίου*. Below the relief, there is an eight-line commemorative inscription. Unfortunately, the poor remains of the inscription on the Stockholm stone do not, however, supply any good reason for suggesting that it contained a dedication to Zeus Chalazios.

The date of the Stockholm stele is not easy to establish, since none of the other Mysian votive stelae enumerated above is firmly dated. For stele No. 1, two different alternatives are given by A. Conze. One is

123/119 B.C. or in the reign of Nicodemos I. The other alternative is 31 B.C. or the time of the Battle of Actium.¹⁶ He does not, however, present any evidence for either of the two alternatives. Perdrizet did not enter into this discussion but simply included this relief among votive reliefs probably deriving from the Hellenistic period.¹⁷ Conze's first alternative was accepted by Svoronos, who, without adding any new evidence, even suggested a more precise date: 123 B.C.¹⁸ S. Karousou, however, voted for the later alternative, or a date at the end of the Hellenistic period, possibly the end of the first century B.C.¹⁹ Stele No. 2 was dated by Robert by the letter forms of the inscription to the second century B.C.²⁰ To establish this date, he compared the letter forms with those in other inscriptions on votive reliefs of Hellenistic date in the Kyzikos area. Stele No. 3 has been given a date in the first century B.C. by Mendel but without any discussion to support this statement.²¹ This relief was also discussed at some length by Hasluck, mentioning two reliefs that depict Zeus in a similar way as in this relief;²² one of these has been dated by Perdrizet on account of its style and form to the 2nd century B.C.²³ For stele No. 6, Smith has suggested three different dates: 176, 121 and 91 B.C.²⁴ Robert has further proposed the following dates for some other stelae: Nos. 7 and 8, 1st century B.C.;²⁵ No. 9, 1st century A.D.;²⁶ and No. 10, 2nd century B.C.²⁷ All these suggested dates do not, however, hide the fact that we do not have any firm basis for a chronology. For the moment, I can therefore only suggest that the present relief would best be dated within a period covering the last few centuries B.C. and the first century A.D. The most probable date would, in my opinion, be the first century B.C.

In conclusion, it is evident that the Stockholm relief belongs together with the group of votive reliefs from Mysia listed above. Like all these other reliefs, it was apparently also dedicated to Zeus. One of these reliefs, viz. No. 3, is so close, both in style and in most details to the Stockholm one that they not only appear to be contemporaneous but to have originated from the same workshop. Since the other relief was dedicated to Zeus Chalazios, I believe that this may also have been the case with the Stockholm relief. The other relief was found at Mahmoun Keui near Kyzikos; it is in this connexion interesting to note that the Swedish Minister at Istanbul, Count C.G. Löwenhjelm, shipped to Sweden at the beginning of the 1830's a number of marbles from the Kyzikos area.²⁸ It is conceivable that NM Sk 201 was one of these marbles.

Bibliographical abbreviations:

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Conze 1865 A. Conze, *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos*, Hannover 1865.

Edhem Bey 1908 Edhem Bey, 'Relief votif du Musée Imperial Ottoman', *BCH* 32, 1908, 521–528.

Hasluck 1903 F. W. Hasluck, 'Inscriptions from Cyzicus', *JHS* 23, 1903, 76–88.

— 1904 —, 'Unpublished inscriptions from the Cyzicus neighbourhood', *JHS* 24, 1904, 20–40.

— 1905 —, 'Inscriptions from the Cyzicene district, 1904', *JHS* 25, 1905, 56–76.

— 1906 —, 'Poemanenum', *JHS* 26, 1906, 25–31.

— 1907 —, 'Inscriptions from the Cyzicus District, 1906', *JHS* 27, 1907, 61–67.

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— 1950 —, *Hellenica IX*, Paris 1950.

— 1955 —, *Hellenica X*, Paris 1955.

— 1983 —, 'Documents d'Asie Mineure', *BCH* 107, 1983, 497–599.

Smith 1904 A. H. Smith, *A Catalogue of sculpture in the department of Greek and Roman Antiquities III*, London 1904.

Svoronos 1937 J. N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, Athens 1937.

Wegener 1985 S. Wegener, *Funktion und Bedeutung landschaftlicher Elemente in der griechischen Relief*

kunst archaischer bis hellenistischer Zeit, Frankfurt 1985.

Wiegand 1904 T. Wiegand, 'Reisen in Mysien', *AM* 29, 1904, 254–339.

¹ This article is based on a paper presented in 1986 at the seminar for classical archaeology and ancient history at Stockholm University; I extend my warm thanks to Dr Charlotte Scheffer, who was then my advisor, and to Dr Pontus Hellström, whose support during the rewriting of the paper for publication in the Medelhavsmuseet *Bulletin* is gratefully acknowledged.

² *Förteckning öfver skulpturarbeten i marmor och brons, samt modeller och eskerisser i Nationalmuseum*, Stockholm 1868, 'Antiker', no. 201.

³ This list has been based on Edhem Bey 1908, 524⁴ and F. W. Hasluck 1910, 224 f., with some additions mainly from Mendel II–III 1914, and various works of L. Robert.

⁴ Votive stela to Artemis, Apollo and Zeus: Istanbul Museum no. 4407 (Robert 1955, pl. 19:3); votive stela to Zeus Hypsistos, showing Zeus, Dionysos and Apollo: British Museum, no. 817 (Perdrizet 1899, pl. 4).

⁵ Hasluck 1910, 231, fig. 23; Robert 1955, pl. 19:2.

⁶ Mendel III 1914, 68, no. 856; L. Robert, 'Documents d'Asie Mineure', *BCH* 102:1, 1978, 524, fig. 38.

⁷ For other examples of the connexion between the eagle and Zeus see G. Mendel III 1914, 44 f., no. 840, and L. Robert, 'Hellenica', *RPhil* 13, pl. 2. The eagle also occurs in tomb stelae: Mendel III 1914, no. 1079. It is worth noting that all these stelae originated in the Kyzikos area.

⁸ Cf. Wegener 1985, 123, and U. Hausmann, *Griechische Weihreliefs*, Berlin 1960, 93. An exception from this rule occurs in a relief panel from Eleusis, depicting Demeter and Persephone on each side of a tree (Wegener, 123).

⁹ F. W. Hasluck 1907, 66 (no. 13); L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes. Recherches sur les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1977, 202.

¹⁰ Wegener 1985, 123 & 172.

¹¹ See also Mendel III 1914, 65 f., no. 854: a relief from Panderma to Artemis and Apollo; Robert 1955, 126, pl. 19:3: a relief from Mysia to Artemis, Apollo and Zeus.

¹² Mendel II 1914, 266–268, no. 547.

¹³ Cf. also a stele from Derkos, our No. 8: Robert 1955, 43–45, pl. 9:2.

¹⁴ Hasluck has further called attention to the very close similarity between the Zeus in our No. 3 and that in our

No. 20, from Mihallitch, as far as pose and dress are concerned. Unfortunately, however, no illustrations or detailed descriptions of this relief have been published. On the Mihallitch relief, his epithet is, however, Hypsistos Brontaios. Hasluck's conclusion is that this shows that Zeus Chalazios and Zeus Hypsistos are identical (Hasluck 1910, 225).

¹⁵ No 2.: Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ἐπισθένου/Διί Αἰθρίωι εύχήν. No. 5: Θάλαμος Μενεκράτους Διί/Κερσούλλωι εύχήν.

¹⁶ Conze 1865, 64.

¹⁷ Perdrizet 1899, 593 f. (III).

¹⁸ Svoronos 1937, 619.

¹⁹ Karousou 1968. In the 1977 edition of the catalogue, also edited by Mrs Karousou, no date is suggested.

²⁰ L. Robert, *BCH* 107, 1983, 545–548.

²¹ Mendel III 1914, 42, no. 837.

²² Hasluck 1904, 21 f.; *idem* 1910, 223–225, 272 (IV:23).

²³ P. Perdrizet 1899, 593 (I).

²⁴ Smith 1904, 224.

²⁵ Robert 1955, 38 and 43.

²⁶ Robert 1955, 46.

²⁷ Robert 1955, 44.

²⁸ E. Kjellberg, 'Nationalmusei samling av antik skulptur', *Ord och bild* 30, 1921, 407.

A Roman Bronze Lamp Stand in Stockholm

Örjan Wikander

Among the unidentified objects in the so-called Comparative Collection,¹ there is a three-legged, bronze stand of unusual shape. It was transferred to the Medelhavsmuseet in 1957 and catalogued soon afterwards, but it was at that time impossible to trace its provenance. It seems a reasonable assumption that it was among the objects belonging to the Statens Historiska Museum before 1880, when the Comparative Collection was established, but it cannot be ascertained how it got there.

MM SHM. Unidentified, no. 21

Bronze stand. Height 6.4–6.6 cm; upper diameter 12.4 cm; Th. of walls 0.2–0.6 cm.

The stand has three feet (3.3–3.4 cm high), resting on carefully modelled, lion paws, almost identical and with four distinct claws on each. Above the paws, the feet are decorated with double volutes united in the centre by a standing (lotus?) bud.

The upper part of the stand (3.1–3.2 cm high) consists of a low, irregular cylinder decorated with a number of torus-shaped elements and carrying a horizontal disk surrounded by a c. 0.5-cm-high, raised border. The central part of the disk (diameter 3.1 cm) is decorated with a number of concentric ridges and grooves.

The entire stand, including the feet, was apparently made in one piece, without any visible joints. The outer surface is covered with a rather fine patina, mostly dark green but in some areas brown. The inside is rough, with a light-green, badly corroded surface.

The nature of this piece is not obvious. A number of apparently related objects have been published as braziers,² but that interpretation is less convincing in this

case, considering the much smaller height of the raised border surrounding the upper disk – hardly suited for keeping charcoal in.

We are dealing here rather with some kind of stand and, even though direct parallels are scarce, it seems reasonable to suggest a stand intended for a bronze lamp. The raised border may have been designed to retain spilled oil, and in other respects, too, the upper part has much in common with other stands undoubtedly intended for lamps. These have occasionally retained a bronze lamp, even though it is often a matter of doubt whether it is the actual specimen that originally belonged there.³ At least in some cases, however, the association seems convincing.⁴

As so often concerning ancient bronze utensils, the main problem remains the lack of relevant literature – embarrassingly evident in a recent bibliography on the Herculaneum excavations.⁵ Concerning large parts of the *instrumentum domesticum*, the most relevant publications remain the 18th- and 19th-century engravings in *Le antichità di Ercolano esposte* (Vol. VIII), H. Roux' and L. Barré's *Herculaneum et Pompéi* (Vol. VII), and the *Real Museo di Napoli* series.

The Pompeii and Herculaneum excavations have revealed a large number of stands and other contrivances intended to raise bronze lamps to a higher level, in order to spread their light more efficiently. The most common type was the high candelabrum placed on the floor,⁶ while a number of lower variants were devised for use on tables. The lamps could be hung on arms branching from a vertical shaft (the entire device occasionally being shaped like a miniature tree)⁷ or placed on stands of various types. One is simply a lower variety of the candelabrum (c. 20–50 cm high),⁸ another consists of a circular plaque and a foot shaped like three dolphins turned upside-down, with their heads resting



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

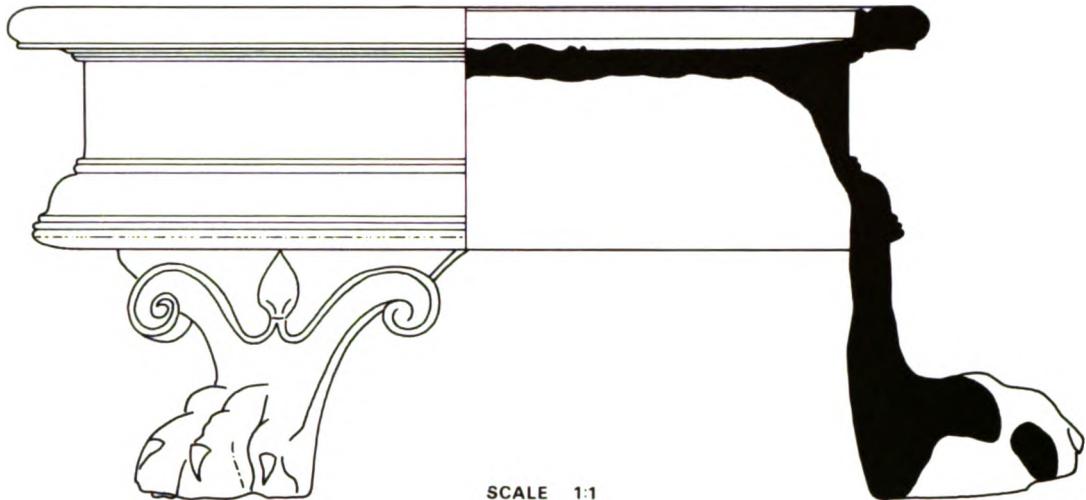


Fig. 3.

on shells.⁹ The most common type is the one discussed by Pernice and divided by him into various groups.¹⁰ A fourth type is represented by the Stockholm stand, which has its best parallels in the Museo Nazionale at Naples.¹¹

The "Pernice type" has much in common with the Stockholm stand: the upper, cylindrical part with its torus-shaped decorations; the disk on top with its low, raised border and central, concentric circles; and the three lion paws. The differences are to be found between the paws and the cylinder: a part which is considerably higher and also lavishly decorated with creepers, leaves of various shapes or palmettes – the basis of Pernice's further division into groups. The height of the Pernice stands varies from c. 8 to 15 cm, in extreme cases up to 20 cm. The diameter is mostly between c. 10 and 15 cm but may be as small as 7 cm. Compared with these figures, the diameter of the Stockholm stand is in complete accordance, while its height is considerably less.

Pernice dated his stands between the third century B.C. and the first A.D., basing his argument on stylistic details in the vegetal ornamentation. The Stockholm



Fig. 4.

stand, however, has little decorative detail to offer. Neither the lion's paws nor the buds and volutes above seem to provide the prerequisites for more precise dating. Still, I would hesitate to date the stand later than the first century A.D., for the simple reason that an artifact like this is not likely to have reached Sweden in the nineteenth century from any other source than the cities of Vesuvius.

¹⁰ E. Pernice (supra n. 3), 57–63, Abb. 75–85, Taf. XV–XVI. For additional examples, see H. Roux & L. Barré (supra n. 6), pls. 35 left and 36–37; *Real Museo di Napoli* IV, Napoli 1833, tav. XIV; *ibid.* VI, Napoli 1839, tav. XXX lower right; E. Babelon & J.-A. Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque National*, Paris 1895, 592–593 nos. 1473–1475; E. Pernice, "Bronzen aus Boscoreale", *AA* 1900, 181–182, fig. 7; A. Mau (supra n. 7), 395–397, fig. 221; F. B. Tarbell, *Catalogue of bronzes, etc., in the Field Museum of Natural History. Reproduced from originals in the National Museum of Naples* (Field Museum of Natural History, Publication 130, Anthropological Series, VII:3), Chicago 1909, 112–113 nos. 75–81; P. Gusman, *Pompeii. La ville – les moeurs – les arts*, Paris 1899, 455 upper right; J. J. Deiss (supra n. 4), fig. on p. 108; *Antikenmuseum Berlin. Die ausgestellten Werke*, Berlin 1988, 278–279 Vitrine 20,6,2:1 (from Boscoreale-Scafati); Tram Tam Tinh, *La casa dei cervi a Herculaneum (Archaeologica*, 74), Roma 1988, 109 nos. 17–18, figs. 170–171.

¹¹ H. Roux & L. Barré (supra n. 6), pl. 35 centre; F. B. Tarbell (supra n. 10), 113 no. 82, pl. LX.

¹ Ö. Wikander, 'The Comparative Collection. Early antique collecting in Sweden', *MedMusB* 16, 1981, 47–48.

² *Real Museo di Napoli* V, Napoli 1836, tav. XIV; *ibid.* VI, Napoli 1839, tav. XLV.

³ E. Pernice, *Gefäße und Geräte aus Bronze (Die hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji, IV)*, Berlin & Leipzig 1925, 57.

⁴ Cf. the almost identical lamps on identical stands, from Pompeii and Herculaneum, respectively, in J. J. Deiss, *Herculaneum. Italy's buried treasure*, London 1985, fig. on p. 108.

⁵ I. C. McIlwaine, *Herculaneum: A guide to the printed sources*, Napoli 1988, 707 (introduction to section 11). The chapter on "lamps, candelabra, tripods, etc." consists of no more than eleven items (pp. 712–714, nos. 11.21–31).

⁶ H. Roux & L. Barré, *Herculaneum et Pompéi. Recueil général des peintures, bronzes, mosaïques, etc. découverts jusqu'à ce jour . . .*, Tome VII, *Bronzes: 3:e série, Lampes*, Paris 1870, pls. 3–4, 7–9, 11–27 and 29; E. Pernice (supra n. 3), 43–57, Abb. 53–74. For a specimen in the Medelhavsmuseet, see Ö. Wikander, "A Roman bronze candelabrum", *MedMusB* 19, 1984, 80–81.

⁷ H. Roux & L. Barré (supra n. 6), pls. 1–2 and 4–6; A. Mau, *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst*, 2. Aufl., Leipzig 1908, p. 395, figs. 219–220.

⁸ H. Roux & L. Barré (supra n. 6), pl. 1, cf. pls. 2, 10 and 28; A. Mau (supra n. 7), 395, fig. 218; Ö. Wikander, 'Two Etruscan thymiateria in the von Beskow Collection', *MedMusB* 18, 1983, p. 61, with n. 139.

⁹ H. Roux & L. Barré (supra n. 6), pl. 37 right (cf. pl. 35 right); *Real Museo di Napoli* VI, Napoli 1839, tav. XXX lower left; E. Pernice (supra n. 3), 19, Abb. 30.

A Mithraic Charioteer?

Pontus Hellström

In 1984, a large, Roman, relief-decorated, copper plaque with a representation of a quadriga was donated to the Medelhavsmuseet (Fig. 1).¹

Inventory number. MM 1984:3.

Material. Hammered copper.² Remains of gilding on the horses, the charioteer and the background indicate that the entire plaque was originally gilded.



Fig. 1. Stockholm copper plaque, MM 1984:3.

Table 1. Metal analysis

No.	Cu %	Zn %	Sn %	Ag %	Pb %	Ni %	Fe %	Sb %	Bi %	Total %
1	98.86	<0.01	0.53	0.05	0.08	0.11	0.21	0.95	0.16	100.96
2	99.00	0.01	0.48	0.06	0.05	0.06	0.24	0.55	0.23	99.68

Shape. Roughly rectangular, except for the right-hand edge which is sloping slightly to the right; the bottom edge is curved. In the upper, left-hand corner of the plaque is a small indentation, 4.5 cm long by 5 cm high.

Measurements. Maximum length 63.0 cm; height 47.0 cm. Length along bottom edge 62.7 cm, along top 56.7 cm. Thickness of metal 0.15–0.20 cm, occasionally up to 0.25 cm, measured at edge. Maximum relief height 5.5 cm (Fig. 2). Weight 5.082 kg.

State of preservation. In some places, where the relief is especially high, for example, at the side of the charioteer's head, at the top of the topmost horse's head and at the front part of the wheel, the metal was hammered so thin that there are now small gaps due to corrosion. The plaque has apparently been mended and reinforced recently, as is clearly visible from the back (Fig. 3). In front of the heads of the two middle horses the plaque is crumpled, which probably indicates that it was also straightened at the same time as it was mended. Several crevices at the edge have been cleaned out with a thin saw-blade and mended with tin soldering. There is such a crevice, 4 cm long, in front of the bottom hoof, another one at the top, left-hand corner (at the inner angle of the missing square area, running vertically downwards), a third above the handle of the charioteer's whip and two more at the right-hand edge. The body and back leg of the charioteer have been reinforced, possibly with plastic padding. The same kind of reinforcement has been made in the area between the head of the charioteer and the upper edge, in two areas at the uppermost horse's head and at the three crevices above the whip, at the top, left-hand corner and below the bottom horse's hoof.

Technical observations. In the plaque, there are 10 nail holes in all. Along the right-hand edge, there are six holes and along the bottom edge there are four holes, the one at the corner being counted twice. In the centre of the plaque is the last hole, surrounded by a circular groove, showing the shape and size of the nail-head (Fig. 4). The holes were obviously cut with a square-pointed awl, which made a cross-like opening in



Fig. 2. Oblique view of Stockholm copper plaque, showing relief depth.

the metal (Fig. 5). The original dimensions of the nails were probably 0.25 by 0.25 cm; the holes that are larger were probably damaged later.

Description. The plaque carries a relief showing a chariot drawn by four horses running towards the left. The style is rather naive and has a strong flavour of provincial art. The horses are drawn with their heads



Fig. 3. Back of Stockholm relief.



Fig. 4. Detail of Stockholm relief, showing nail hole in centre of plaque.



Fig. 5. Detail of Stockholm relief, showing nail holes at right-hand edge.

depicted above each other in a vertical row, as are also the eight front legs, whereas the eight hind legs are horizontally arranged, which makes the perspective slightly illogical, in that the hind legs of the fourth (or

rear) horse are placed so far towards the left as to make its body arranged in reality more or less vertically. Since only the first (or nearest) horse's body and the line of the back of the second one are shown, this is



Fig. 6. Detail of Stockholm relief, showing front horse and back of second horse.

made less apparent; the bodies of the third and fourth horses are not visible. Of the third and the fourth horses, only the heads and necks are visible apart from the legs. All the horses' heads carry headstalls; on the first horse a harness with a collar and a saddle strap is visible and on the second horse a saddle strap (Fig. 6). The only visible tail is that of the first horse, flying horizontally in front of the chariot side. Three reins run between the charioteer and the necks of the third and the fourth horses; they do not continue around the first two horses. The chariot has a box-like, squarish coach-body with a raised edge at top and bottom; a six-spoked wheel is situated behind the body of the chariot. The front part of the chariot body is hidden between the hind parts of the two first horses, i.e. behind the first horse and not behind the second one, as would be correct in a quadriga. No chariot shaft is visible. Behind the chariot is a large charioteer, who is resting his left

leg on the ground, stretched backwards with knee and foot turned towards the front; the toes are indicated by light incision; the charioteer is apparently supporting his right knee on the chariot, the side of which is hiding most of his leg (Fig. 7). He has a full beard and moustache, and his head is turned frontally towards the spectator; his eyes, which are looking straight ahead, have a central dot within a lightly incised circle to indicate the pupil and iris; his hair is in low relief with a line of curls running along the forehead and the ears are not shown; there is no indication of clothes, except a cloak, which is blowing to the left and right behind his head. Whether the right-hand termination of the cloak is a separate object or part of the cloak is not clear. It has some similarity with a cap. In his right hand, the charioteer is brandishing a whip, the faintly visible lash flying towards the horses; with his left, he is holding the reins.



Fig. 7. Stockholm charioteer.

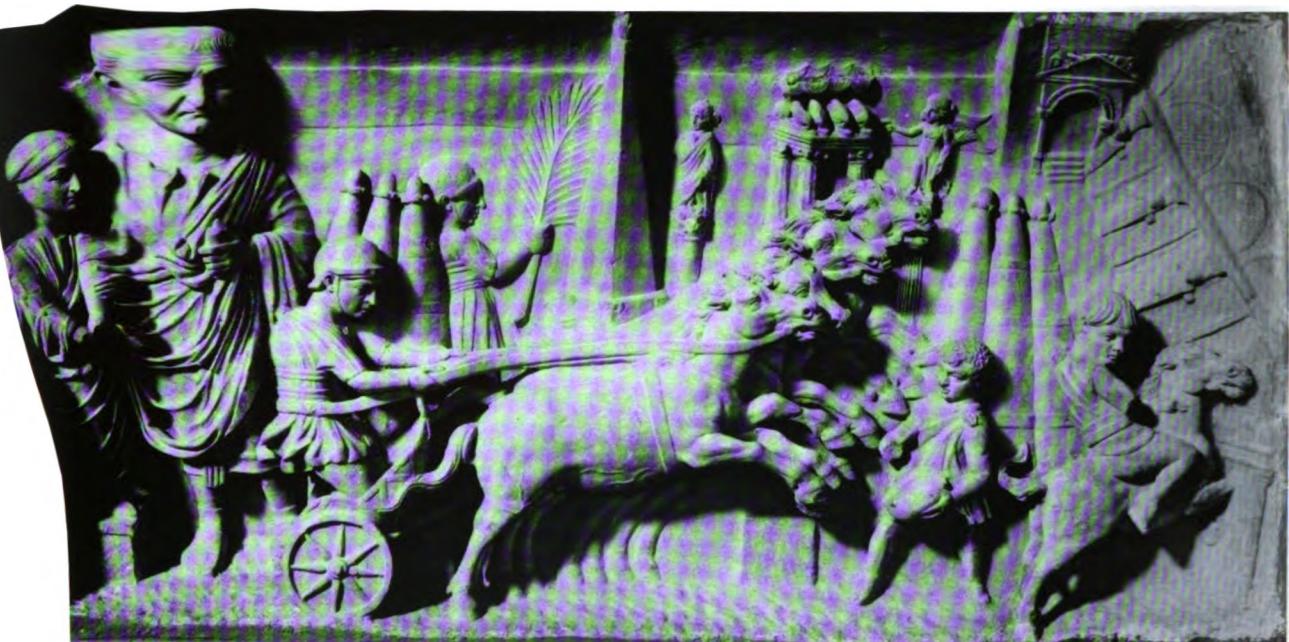


Fig. 8. Ex-Lateran circus relief, now in the Vatican (photo Alinari).

Representations of chariot racing are far from rare in Roman art. This is natural, since chariot racing was, indeed, the most popular sport in the Roman Empire.³ Everywhere, especially in imperial capitals, race tracks were built to meet the popular demand for circus performances.⁴ In various art media, circus scenes, real or with cupids as charioteers, illustrate the popularity of this kind of sport, especially on mosaics and marble sarcophagi.⁵ A comparison between the Stockholm plaque and a few representative examples of such circus scenes shows, however, both iconographical and other differences. To begin with an early example of Trajanic date, viz. the famous, ex-Lateran, circus relief (now in the Vatican), we find that here the team of horses, which is racing towards the right, is quite naturalistically represented (Fig. 8).⁶ By using a perspective depicting the horses' heads more or less in front of each other the artist has avoided the perspective problem encountered in the Stockholm relief. The reins run from all four horses and are kept around his waist by the charioteer, who is, however, somewhat oversize. He is looking ahead and not towards the spectator. The charioteer appears to be crouching in the chariot, which is triangular or crescent-shaped; its wheel is situated below the chariot. We may here especially note the difference in chariot type and in the posture of the charioteer

in comparison with the Stockholm relief. The ex-Lateran charioteer differs also in that he is dressed in a short tunic and is wearing a helmet, padded leather belt and arm and shoulder coverings. In a relief about a century later, viz. the sarcophagus from Foligno (Fig. 9) dating from about the middle of the third century, the perspective of the horses has been rendered in a similar way.⁷ Here all the chariots are crescent-shaped and seem to have openwork frames; some of them are shown in perspective with one wheel placed behind the chariot-box. The charioteers, who seem to be crouching in the chariots like the Lateran charioteer, are all a little too large in scale. Even here the chariots are thus of a different type than the Stockholm one and the postures and dress of the charioteers are different. Chariot racing is depicted on almost 40 other known sarcophagi.⁸ These start in the second century A.D. and continue through the fourth century. Some of them show races in bigas between cupids or children, others real races with quadrigas. Of the later category, a sarcophagus partly in the Vatican (Fig. 10) and partly in Berlin⁹ shows at the left end a charioteer who in his posture has some similarity to the Stockholm charioteer. He differs, however, in that he is standing with both feet in the light, crescent-shaped chariot and wears the normal racing costume. The reins continue around his waist and he is



Fig. 9. Foligno circus relief (photo German Archaeol. Inst., Rome).



Fig. 10. Circus relief, Vatican Sala Rotonda 546 a (photo Alinari).

looking intently ahead. On other specimens of sarcophagi, the winner may be indicated by his holding a crown in his hand and sometimes even turning his head in frontal view towards the spectator.¹⁰

Racing scenes also occur in other art media, such as Campana terracotta reliefs, terracotta lamps, glass vessels and especially mosaics.¹¹ In those respects that primarily concern us here, the representations in these scenes are so similar to those in the marble sarcophagus scenes that they only underline the general impression

that some details in the Stockholm plaque are not paralleled in normal circus-racing scenes. These details concern especially the charioteer and the chariot. The dress is the first distinguishing mark. Circus charioteers are invariably dressed in the normal racing costume with helmet, short coat, boots and sometimes trousers. Our charioteer is dressed only in a flying cloak, a dress that is more in accordance with the iconography of gods or heroes than of racing charioteers.¹² The posture of the charioteer is the second detail. Charioteers in racing

scenes may be turning around to check the situation behind, they may be standing erect in the chariot, leaning forward or backward, crouching, or, especially when depicted as victorious after the race, they may be turning frontally towards the spectator, holding the victor's radiate crown, a wreath or a palm in their hands.¹³ They are, however, always standing with both feet either in the chariot or, having left the chariot, on the ground and never depicted with one leg in the chariot and the other on the ground behind. It is also unique that a charioteer of a team still racing should be turning his head in frontal view towards the spectator, if not performing a victory lap; this gesture is confined to victorious charioteers and is then always combined with a gesture of triumph and normally with the showing of the insignia of the victory as well. The gesture of triumph is sometimes performed by raising the hand holding the whip. Our charioteer's brandishing of the whip does not appear to be such a gesture of triumph.

The chariot on the Stockholm relief is further of a type that seems to be unparalleled in racing scenes (Fig. 11). The coach-body differs from that of the usual racing chariot in being rectangular and not triangular or crescent-shaped, having low sides and a high front.¹⁴ In the Stockholm case, a representation of a normal circus chariot seems not to have been intended; alternatively, the shape of the chariot box was considered unimportant. A lack of interest in the chariot on the part of the artist may actually be indicated by the position of the wheel behind the box. The wheels of racing chariots are always situated under the box, unless, for reasons of perspective, one wheel is represented behind the chariot; the other wheel is then understood as being hidden behind the forepart of the chariot, if not actually shown, as, for instance, in the Foligno relief (Fig. 9). It seems therefore as if the chariot in the Stockholm relief is actually drawn in three-quarter view from behind and that the wheel should be understood as being situated under the box. A wheel-axle may actually be indicated below the box, immediately above the hind legs of the horses, although this is not very clear.

Since our charioteer turns out not to be represented in conformity with the iconography of victorious charioteers in Roman circus racing, it is obvious that his connexions have to be sought elsewhere. First of all, his nudity makes it probable that he belongs to the divine or heroic sphere, including deified human beings. Secondly, it may be relevant to note that his posture, his frontal gaze and his superhuman scale do, in fact, recall the iconography of Mithraic cult reliefs.¹⁵ In these, we



Fig. 11. Detail of Stockholm relief, showing chariot.

see Mithras the bull-killer placing his left, forward knee on the back of the bull and stretching his right leg backwards, resting his right foot firmly on the ground behind (Fig. 12). He is always, however, turned towards the right and not towards the left, like our charioteer. With the cloak flying behind him, he is in most cases either looking backwards or turning his head frontally to face the spectator. With one hand stretched out in front of him, he is forcing the bull's head back, with his fingers in its nostrils, while stabbing it with a knife held in the other hand, drawn further back. It looks very much as if our charioteer, with his head in frontal view and his forward-leaning posture, with one leg stretched backwards and the other knee apparently resting in the chariot, is represented in an iconography related to that of Mithras the bull-killer.¹⁶ His superhuman size, in comparison with the horses, may point in the same direction. The flying cloak is also a Mithraic iconographic detail, even though this is also used both for other gods and heroes.¹⁷



Fig. 12. Mithras relief from Heddernheim. In top register chariots of *Sol* and *Luna* (photo Städtisches Museum, Wiesbaden).

To return to the chariot, it was not only in racing scenes that quadrigas were depicted in Roman imperial times. They were often used to represent both the triumphal chariot of the Emperor and the chariot of *Sol*. The triumphal quadriga was not represented as a high-speed, racing chariot and has therefore no apparent connexion with the Stockholm chariot. The chariot of the Sun, however, is more rewarding to study. The largest group of such relief representations occurs in the

Rhineland and Danubian areas in combination with Mithraic cult reliefs. The possible Mithraic iconographic connexion of this relief makes this combination especially interesting to note. The provinces are also a natural area for our research, because of the naive style of the relief. These cult reliefs often had frames containing panels with scenes illustrating the Mithraic cult legend.¹⁸ The frames show both in the horizontal registers and on the sides, the chariot of *Sol*, usually a

quadriga;¹⁹ sometimes there is also the chariot, normally a biga, of the setting Moon, often, however, drawn by a pair of oxen. Sometimes the chariots show Sol as a charioteer, standing alone in the chariot or together with a second figure mounting the chariot. Among the reliefs with such representations, there is one which was once part of the frame of a Mithraic relief and which was found at Virunum in southern Austria (Fig. 13).²⁰ On this relief, there is a quadriga which approximates closely to ours in the rendering of the horses and with Sol standing in the chariot. The horses, especially as regards the eight front legs and four heads, are rendered very much in the same unsophisticated way as those of our relief. A second figure, who is nude, dressed only in a Phrygian cap, is mounting the chariot, front leg bent, back leg stretched backwards. The identity of this person is a question, on which there is no consensus. Such passengers are either regarded as Mithras himself²¹ or as an initiate of the fifth grade (Perses)²² or of the seventh (Pater).²³ As regards the charioteer, he is seen by some as Sol,²⁴ by others as an initiate of the sixth grade (Heliodromus).²⁵ Concerning the iconography of the chariot, Merkelbach sees it as a symbol of the sixth grade (Heliodromus) in the Mithraic mysteries or rather of the progress from the fifth to the sixth grade.²⁶ Normally, as, for instance, by Will, it is believed to be a symbol for the apotheosis of Mithras or of an initiate of the Pater grade.²⁷

The Stockholm charioteer cannot simply be identified with Sol, since he is bearded and does not wear the radiate crown, nor with Mithras, who is not a bearded god and is normally dressed and wears the Phrygian cap. Our charioteer would, however, in several respects seem to combine features of the charioteer and his passenger on the Virunum relief or on other less distinctly executed Mithraic relief frames in the Rhineland and Danubian areas. He is brandishing the whip and holding the reins like his charioteer colleague and is dressed in a flying cloak; his posture is the same as that of the Virunum passenger. It would thus seem that the similarities between the Stockholm chariot scene and those occurring on the Mithraic cult relief frames, taken together with the apparent iconographic connexion between the Stockholm charioteer and Mithras in posture, make it probable that the Stockholm relief belongs to the Mithraic sphere.

This leads on to the question of the origin and function of our relief. One possibility would be that the plaque originates from a chariot like the one depicted on the relief. That this may have been the case is



Fig. 13. Detail of Mithraic relief from Virunum: Chariot of Sol (photo Landesmuseum für Kärnten, Klagenfurt).

indicated by its shape with the oblique, right-hand side, which would make it suitable for fastening on the left-hand side of such a chariot. This possibility is further strengthened by the nail holes along two edges, the other two edges in that case probably being kept in position by a wooden frame. The nail hole in the centre may show the position of a beam in the chariot framework. Such a use for the plaque would explain the unusual leftwards direction of the depicted chariot.²⁸ With the relief situated on the left side of a chariot, the direction of the team had to be to the left. Such a position and function for the plaque might also yield a hypothetical explanation for the rectangular shape of the chariot box on the relief; it may have been copied from the real chariot for which it was made. This had to have rectangular sides on account of the proportions of the relief scene. It may then have been natural to copy the real chariot in the relief. It may also be that the artist had a triumphal chariot in mind as a prototype, such as the one depicted on the Tiberius cup from Boscoreale with its relief decoration on the side.²⁹ In the present case, such a chariot would presumably have been intended for funeral use in accordance with a rather common custom since early times in the northern provinces.³⁰ Many chariot burials dating from Roman times have been discovered in the Thracian and Moe-sian areas.³¹ Given the Mithraic connections noted above, the presumed tomb would have to be that of an

initiate of one of the upper Mithraic grades, preferably a Pater (7th grade) if not a Heliodromus (6th grade), for which grade both the chariot of Sol and the whip³² might be seen as symbols.³³ In conclusion, this would mean that our relief was mounted on a chariot, made to be placed in the tomb of an initiate. In accordance with the Mithraic belief in the transcendency of the soul, the chariot would then have symbolized the reincarnation of an initiate who had reached one of the upper grades in the Mithraic mysteries.³⁴

Another possibility would be that the plaque was not intended for a chariot side but for mounting on a wooden backing as a votive relief in a Mithraeum. It is not only the slightly trapezoidal shape of the plaque but also the leftward direction of the chariot that primarily indicate its use on a real chariot. However, since the leftward direction occurs on Mithraic frame reliefs, such as the one from Virunum, it is also possible that it belonged in such an environment. If the plaque was rather a votive relief, it may have been part of a set of copper plaques in a Mithraeum, telling the Mithraic cult legend in the same way as the frame panels of the typical cult reliefs of the Rhineland and Danubian areas. It may even have been part of a large relief frame of the same kind as the marble one at Virunum, surrounding a cult relief sculpture in bronze or marble. Alternatively, it may have been a solitary votive panel illustrating the culmination of the Mithraic mystery, which, as Campbell points out, was not the communion but the quadriga ascent.³⁵ Even in this case, it is conceivable that the plaque was fastened on a backing of wood with nails along two edges and with wooden listels mounted to hold it in place at the top and left side; along the bottom and right-hand side listels were presumably mounted to cover the nail-heads.³⁶

However, the shape of the plaque argues in favour of the first alternative, that the plaque was mounted on a chariot, presumably for a tomb. First, there is the oblique, right-hand edge, which is difficult to fit into a rectangular frame-work. Secondly, the curved, bottom edge of the plaque is formed in such a way as to exclude the possibility that it could be hidden by a straight, horizontal listel. The listel must have been curved like the edge, which would then presumably best be interpreted as indicating the shape of a chariot. Thirdly, the indentation in the upper, left-hand corner of the plaque, which does not seem to be damage of recent date or inflicted by accident in antiquity but rather an original feature, presumably shows the position of a beam belonging to the chariot frame. The crevice,

mended with tin, that runs down from the inner angle of this missing piece of metal is, on the other hand, recent damage. The oblique, right-hand edge, the curved, bottom edge and the square indentation in the upper, left-hand corner are certainly easier to explain if the plaque was mounted on a chariot than if not.³⁷

As a consequence of this discussion, we apparently have to conclude that the plaque had a funeral function. With a funeral use for the plaque, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that an eschatological symbolism is present in the Stockholm relief scene. Although doubts have been expressed by various scholars as to whether eschatological symbolism was current in Roman funeral connexions before the late Empire,³⁸ I believe that a funeral use for this plaque still is the most probable alternative.

As regards the identity of the charioteer, his nudity makes him a god or a hero (or a deified human being). The iconographic parallels discussed above make it further probable that he belongs to the Mithraic sphere. He cannot, however, as pointed out above, be identified with Sol or with Mithras himself. To see this charioteer as any other known god or hero, such as Hercules, meets with the same difficulty that he has no attribute by which he can be identified. There then remains only the sphere of the heroicized dead. If the iconographic connections with the Mithraic sphere that have been argued above are accepted, this would leave us with an obvious choice, viz. that he is a Pater, an initiate of the uppermost grade (the seventh), who was thought of as representing Mithras himself within the mysteries. This would make it possible to explain his beard either as being a normal human feature or a reflection of the protecting god of the seventh grade, Saturn, who was a bearded god.³⁹ It can also be noted that the right-hand termination of the cloak has some similarities with a Phrygian cap. One of the symbols of the seventh grade was the Phrygian cap, as is shown, for instance, in the famous Ostia mosaic.⁴⁰

As regards the date of the plaque, the Mithraic iconographic connexions point to a date in conformity with Mithraic monuments. This means that it should most probably be dated between the early second and the early fourth century A.D., since these are the chronological limits between which most dated Mithraic remains fall.⁴¹ The suggested date for the Virunum relief is the middle or the late second century.⁴² The detail of our relief that would be most likely to yield any useful precision in dating from a stylistic point of view is the figure of the charioteer and especially his



Fig. 14. Head of Stockholm charioteer.

head (Fig. 14). His beard, with its plastic form, and his wreath of locks along the forehead can best be dated earlier than the third century, when beards and hair were usually rendered either by deep drilling or by very delicate incision. Although our relief is of copper, these

techniques do not appear to lie behind the execution of the charioteer's beard and hair. The same chronological direction is also indicated by the rendering of the eyes, which show no sign of an upward, heavenly gaze but look straight towards the spectator. At the same time, the eyes have incised pupils, which indicates the second century as the earliest possible date. Although our relief with its naive style is not of a very high quality and in all probability is a provincial work, which means that one should not draw too far-reaching conclusions from stylistic details, I would rather prefer to suggest a date in the second century than a later one. If a more precise date has to be suggested, Hadrianic portraits seem to offer the best parallels as far as the hair-style goes. The rather flat, hair cap framed by a row of raised locks along the forehead recurs on Hadrianic heads from both Italy and the provinces.⁴³ Antonine portraits and especially those from the time of Marcus Aurelius and onwards differ very distinctly in having a very rich mass of locks all over the head and not only along the forehead.⁴⁴ Nor do third-century heads display a very distinct difference between raised, slightly irregular, forehead locks and a flat hair cap in the same way as the present head.⁴⁵ Attention may also be called to the proportions of the body of the charioteer, which are rather stout. In this respect, they have better parallels in the early second century than in later Antonine art, when there was a change to much more slender proportions.⁴⁶ However, owing to the provinciality of style and the small scale of the Stockholm relief head, these considerations concerning the date of our relief should be seen as provisional. The area of origin, finally, is in all probability indicated by the Central European, iconographic connexions of the charioteer.

Apart from the abbreviations in accordance with the list published in *AJA* 90, 1986, 381–394, with additions in *AJA* 92, 1988, 629 f., the following is used here:

CIMRM = J. M. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, The Hague 1956.

¹ The donor had acquired the relief at an auction sale at Sotheby's (Sotheby's, *Catalogue of Antiquities*, 12–13 Dec. 1983, No. 382). See also *MedMusB* 19, 1984, 82. After partial removal of corrosion products and conservation at the Technical Institute at the Central Board of National Antiquities, the plaque was studied from a technical point of view by the restorer Mr Eric Norgren, whose comments on these matters have been most useful to me. I would also like to extend my cordial thanks for useful discussions to Prof. B. Bergquist and the members of her seminar at the Dept. of Classical Archaeology at Stockholm University.

² Two samples of c. 10 mg were taken from the back of the plaque after cleaning and were analysed by Anna Svärdh at the Technical Institute at the Central Board of National Antiquities using a Perkin-Elmer atomic absorption spectrophotometer, Model 460 (Report No. A 84–001). The results are shown in Table 1.

³ Cf. A. Cameron, *Porphyrius the Charioteer*, Oxford 1973; id., *Circus Factions. Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium*, Oxford 1976.

⁴ J. H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses. Arenas for Chariot Racing*, London 1986.

⁵ G. Rodenwaldt, 'Römische Reliefs. Vorstufen zur Spätantike', *JdI*, 55, 1940, 13–43; S. Meschini, *EAA* II, 1959, 649–652; C. Belting-Ihm, 'Ein römischer Circus-Sarkophag', *JRGZM* 8, 1961, 195–208; M. Turcan-Déléani, 'Contribution à l'étude des amours dans l'art funéraire romaine: les sarcophages à courses de chars', *MéRome* 76, 1964, 43–49; M. Lawrence, 'The circus relief at Foligno', in *Ricerche sull'Umbria tardo-antica e preromanica. Atti del secondo convegno di studi umbri 24–25/5/1964*, Perugia 1965, 119–135; I. Vogel, 'Circus race scenes in the Early Roman Empire', *ArtB* 51, 1969, 155–160; R. Hanoune, 'Trois pavements de la maison de la course de chars à Carthage', *MéRome* 81, 1969, 219–256 (useful collection of monuments with cupids driving chariots); K. M. D. Dunbabin, 'The Victorious Charioteer on Mosaics and Related Monuments', *AJA* 86, 1982, 65–87; Humphrey (supra n. 4).

⁶ Rodenwaldt (supra n. 5), 12–20.

⁷ Rodenwaldt (supra n. 5), 23 f.; Lawrence (supra n. 5), 119–122, 133 f.

⁸ Humphrey (supra n. 4), 196–202, and note 47 (on p. 655).

⁹ Humphrey (supra n. 4), Fig. 102 (on p. 203); Lawrence (supra n. 5), 130 f., Fig. 13; G. Koch and H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage*, München 1982, 123 f. The same posture also occurs on a Campana fragment in the Louvre (Humphrey, Fig. 83, on p. 183).

¹⁰ E. g. the Mainz sarcophagus (Belting-Ihm, supra n. 5, pl. 76); see also Humphrey (supra n. 4), 198.

¹¹ A number of such representations have been collected in the work of Humphrey (supra n. 4). See also the works enumerated above in note 5.

¹² See, for example, Pluto with Proserpina on a chariot: F. Sinn, *Stadtrömische Marmorurnen*, Mainz 1988, Pl. 77b (No. 518); Herakles and other gods on the Velletri sarcophagus: B. Andreae, *Studien zur römischen Grabkunst* (RM-EH 9), Heidelberg 1963.

¹³ Dunbabin (supra n. 5), 65–87.

¹⁴ The only chariots known to me with a chariot box approaching the present one in shape occur on Gaulish funerary reliefs (Humphrey, supra n. 4, 415–418, Figs. 193 f.). Those, however, appear to be sketchy versions of normal racing chariots.

¹⁵ *CIMRM*; R. Merkelbach, *Mithras*, Hain 1984.

¹⁶ The iconography of Mithras the bull-killer may have been influenced by that of bull-slaughtering Nike (see E. D. Francis, referring to unpublished paper by B. Shefton, in *Mithraic Studies. Proceedings of the First International Congress of Mithraic Studies II*, Manchester 1975, p. 354). For representations of Nike/Victoria in this posture in Roman Imperial times, see A. H. Borbein, *Campanareliefs. Typologische und stilkritische Untersuchungen* (RM-EH 14), Heidelberg 1968, 43–115.

¹⁷ See above, note 12.

¹⁸ This is Campbell's type VIII, a group that is typical of the Rhineland area (A. Campbell, 'Typology of Mithraic Tauroctones', *Berytus* 11, 1954–55, 1–60; id., *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology* (EPRO, 11) Leiden 1968, 1–3) and 'reliefs rétoromanes' by Will (E. Will, *Le relief cultuel gréco-romain. Contribution à l'histoire de l'art de l'empire romain* (BEFAR, 183), Paris 1955, 361–364). The latest study of this group is by Schwertheim (E. Schwertheim, *Die Denkmäler orientalischer Gottheiten im römischen Deutschland* (EPRO, 40), Leiden 1974, 280–290).

¹⁹ Merkelbach (supra n. 15), 117 f. There are many representations of the chariot of Sol; see, for instance, the *CIMRM* items nos. 335, 337, 390, 400, 415, 532, 554, 736, 810, 966, 1083, 1137, 1247, 1283, 1292, 1359, 1458, 1579, 1599, 1816, 1879, 2048, 2216, 2244.

²⁰ *CIMRM* 2, 159–161, No. 1430; G. Piccottini, *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani. Österreich 2:4, Die kultischen und mythologischen Reliefs des Stadtgebietes von Virunum*, Wien 1984, 17 f. (No. 300b), Pls. 4 & 6.

²¹ Vermaseren in *CIMRM* 2, 161; H. Schütz, *The Romans in Central Europe*, 1985, 80.

²² Merkelbach (supra n. 15), 118–121 and 367, Fig. 131.

²³ Campbell 1968 (supra n. 18), 328 f.

²⁴ Vermaseren in *CIMRM* I, 161.

²⁵ Merkelbach (supra n. 15), 385 and 392 is regarding the charioteer as a Heliodromus and the passenger as a Perses, whereas Campbell 1968 (supra n. 18), 328 f., considers the charioteer to be a Heliodromus and the passenger to be Mithras Pater. These differences of opinion arise from the difficulty in distinguishing between the initiates of different grades and the protecting gods of the respective grades.

²⁶ Merkelbach (supra n. 15), 118–121 and 367, Fig. 131.

²⁷ Will (supra n. 18), 372–374, 382 f.; Campbell 1968 (supra n. 18), 262 & 324 f. appears to be of the same opinion.

²⁸ In racing scenes, the chariots are almost invariably running towards the right, at least when they are on the near side of the barrier, except for representations made by moulds or stamps, which are often reversed (see, for instance, Vogel (supra n. 5), 151–160; Humphrey (supra n. 4)); the direction of racing was to the right.

²⁹ MonPiot 5, 1899, Pl. 35,1. Cf. T. Hölscher, *Victoria Romana*, Mainz 1967, 82 f., Pl. 10,2.

³⁰ D. van Endert, *Die Wagenbestattungen der späten Hallstattzeit und der Latènezeit im Gebiet westlich des Rheins* (BAR S 355), Oxford 1987.

³¹ Forty chariots of Roman date (2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.) in Thrace and Moesia: T. Ivanov, 'Über die Kontinuität der thrakischen Kultur in den thrakischen Gebieten während der Römerherrschaft (der heutigen Volksrepublik Bulgarien)', in *Thracia. Primus Congressus Studiorum Thracicorum* I, Sofia 1972, 177; D. Nikolov, 'Trakijski kolesnitsi krai Stara Zagora', *Archeologija* 3:3, 1961, 8–17; I. Venedikov, *Trakijskata kolesnitsa*. Sofia 1960. In spite of many finds of bronze decorations belonging to chariots, no parallels to our plaque have been reported from Thrace.

³² Campbell 1968 (supra n. 18), 311; R. Merkelbach (supra n. 15), 119 f.

³³ The seven grades of the Mithraic mysteries were (1) Corax, (2) Nymphus, (3) Miles, (4) Leo, (5) Perses, (6) Heliodromus, and (7) Pater (cf., for example, Merkelbach, supra n. 15, 86–133).

³⁴ Campbell 1968 (supra n. 18), 18 f. and 324–329, on the quadriga as apotheosis motif.

³⁵ Campbell 1968 (supra n. 18), 262. This is not unrelated to the fact that Sol or Helios during the Roman Empire became the supreme divine power and that solar speculations such as those of the Neo-Platonists had a great influence on later paganism (G. M. A. Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks*, Cambridge, Mass. 1951, 151–153).

³⁶ The number of votive objects is especially impressive at Stockstadt, where the finds even include silver and bronze miniature votive reliefs: *CIMRM* 2, nos. 1158–1222; E. Schwertheim (supra n. 18), 135–150.

³⁷ The curvature of the bottom edge may result from a straightening of the plaque, if this was originally set on a curved surface: chariots may have had a horseshoe-shaped plan.

³⁸ K. M. Dunbabin (supra n. 5), 84–86; Sinn (supra n. 12), 78 f.; Belting-Ihm (supra n. 5), 201–205; G. M. A. Hanfmann (supra n. 35), I, 1951, 159–163; Vogel (supra n. 5), 159, note 47; Humphrey (supra n. 4), 94, 200 f.

³⁹ Merkelbach (supra n. 15), 127–129. At Santa Prisca in Rome, the Pater is bearded and is carrying the Phrygian cap (Campbell 1968, supra n. 18, 313). It is also relevant that a clear distinction between the gods Mithras and Sol, on the one hand, and between the initiates Pater and Helidromus, on the other, cannot be expected, since Mithraic ritual had a high quality of drama or play-acting (Campbell 1968, supra n. 18,

322).

⁴⁰ *CIMRM* I, No. 299; Merkelbach (supra n. 15), 295; Campbell 1968 (supra n. 18), 313.

⁴¹ Merkelbach (supra n. 15, 146–149) notes that, with few exceptions, all dated items in the *CIMRM* fall between 140 and 325. He enumerates 4 items falling in the early years of the 2nd century. According to C.M. Daniels ('The role of the Roman army in the spread and practice of Mithraism', *Mithraic Studies. Proceedings of the First International Congress of Mithraic Studies* II, Manchester 1975, 249–274, esp. 250–252) there are relatively few dated monuments before Commodus and the third century was clearly the most important period of Mithraism. One should be aware, however, that it is a rather risky business to draw conclusions from the few dated items; there is only a handful of dated monuments amongst the general mass of Mithraic material. Schwertheim (supra n. 18, 270–275) enumerates a series of early finds and argues for an arrival of the Mithras cult to the Rhineland (Hedernheim, Mainz and Vindonissa) already in the last quarter of the first century.

⁴² *CIMRM* 2, p.160; Will (supra n. 18), 410, note 2; R. M. Swoboda, 'Zu einer Inschrift aus dem Mithras-Heiligtum in Virunum. *CIL* III 4796', *Carinthia* I, 160, 1970, 630. Mid-2nd century on stylistic criteria: G. Piccottini (supra n. 20), 18 (No. 300b).

⁴³ G. Piccottini, *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani* 2:1, *Die Rundskulpturen des Stadtgebietes von Virunum*, Wien 1968, p. 31 (No. 47, Hadrian); cf also ibid., pp. 19 f. (Nos. 19 f.: two small, provincial Jupiter heads, dated in the 2nd century and the mid-2nd century, respectively; C. C. Vermeule, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor*, Cambridge, Mass., 1968, Figs. 134 (from Corinth) and 136 (from Dictynnaion in Crete); M. Wegner, *Hadrian* (Das römische Herrscherbild 2:3), Berlin 1956, Pls. 19a (Sevilla), 24 (Chania) and 30a (Ostia).

⁴⁴ H. P. L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture*, Oslo 1947, 66–72; V. Poulsen, *Les portraits romains* II. *De Vespasien à la basse antiquité*, Copenhagen 1974, 20 f.

⁴⁵ L'Orange (supra n. 44); Poulsen (supra n. 44).

⁴⁶ B. Andreæ (supra n. 12), 15–26.

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A Bibliography

The present list is a sequel to those published in the previous issues of this periodical (*MedMusB* 22, 1987, 70–72 and 23, 1988, 49–52). It consists of books and papers in the field of Classical archaeology (including ancient art and architecture as well as history and numismatics) by Swedish scholars and by foreign scholars working in Sweden or at Swedish institutions or projects. It includes not only scholarly studies but also popular versions (in Swedish), especially when they concern the respective author's own research. The list is compiled from titles collected by Dr Berit Wells (Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean) and by Drs Charlotte Wikander and Örjan Wikander (Italy and the Western Mediterranean). There are also a few additions to the previous lists.

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Boreas, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. *Boreas*. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations. Distributors: Almqvist & Wiksell International, Box 45150, S-104 30 Stockholm.

Fornvännen, Journal of Swedish Antiquarian Research, published by the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, distributed by Bibliotekstjänst, Kundtjänst, Fack, S-221 01 Lund.

Hydra, Working Papers in Middle Bronze Age Studies, Uppsala & Athens (ed. by G. Nordquist, Dept. of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University, Gustavianum, S-752 20 Uppsala and C. Zerner, American School of Classical Studies, 54 Souidias, GR-106 76 Athens); ISSN 0283-7773.

Medusa, Journal published by the Society for a Swedish Journal of Antiquity, Renstiernas gata 25, S-116 31 Stockholm.

OpAth, Opuscula Atheniensia, published by the Swedish Institute in Athens (Distributor Paul Åström's Förlag, Västra Hamngatan 3, S-411 17 Göteborg).

OpRom, Opuscula Romana, published by the Swedish Institute in Rome (Distributor Paul Åström's Förlag, Västra Hamngatan 3, S-411 17 Göteborg).

Ossa, International Journal of Skeletal Research, published by the Osteological Research Laboratory, University of Stockholm, Ulriksdals Kungsgård, S-171 71 Solna.

Romhorisont, Journal published by the Friends of the Swedish Institute in Rome, The Royal Castle, S-111 30 Stockholm.

SIMA, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology; published by Paul Åström's Förlag, Västra Hamngatan 3, S-411 17 Göteborg.

Valör, Journal of art historical studies and research, published by the Association 'Valör' (Dept. of the History of Art, Domkyrkoplan 7, S-752 20 Uppsala); ISSN 0283-751 X.

Activities 1988–1989

Carl-Gustaf Styrenius

During the period from May 16, 1988 to May 31, 1989 the Museum was closed and thus there were no public activities at all. The building programme of the National Board of Public Building (see Bulletin 22, 1987) was completed in the beginning of September. From September 1988 to May 1989 new Greek, Roman, Etruscan, Cypriote, Islamic and Egyptian exhibitions were created.

On June 1, 1989 the Museum was re-inaugurated by the Minister of Culture, Bengt Göransson. The scenography of the central hall was created by the architect Eric Sörling and the sculptor Sivert Lindblom in collaboration with the Graeco-Roman Department. Passing through a "golden" porch you come into the Forum or the Agora. In the background you see a painted representation of the floral garden in Livia's House at Prima Porta with a marble sculpture by Praxiteles, the Apollo Sauroktonos, in front of it just beside a bank of palms.

In the back corner to the left you see a natural-size reconstruction of a pillar and a column from King Maussollos' Andron B at Labraunda. In the other three corners postmodernistic structures were raised to about the same height. On the left and right sides of the square big, 6-meter-long show-cases house pottery and small sculptures from the Greek, Roman and Etruscan cultures.

Entering the Cypriote exhibition in another part of the ground floor you see four full-size terracotta sculptures from Mersinaki presented in half profile in separate show-cases. In the background Cypro-Archaic sculpture heads appear opposite the big, new climatized show-case with hundreds of terracotta figurines belonging to the Ajia Irini group.

In the basement there is a new Egyptian tomb and

mummy exhibition. Most impressive is the stone sarcophagus from the 6th century B.C., which came to Sweden already in 1826. Moreover there are two mummy cases and several mummies, among them the priest Bakenren.

During the year the Egyptian Department received a very valuable, testamentary gift from the late Mr. Ernest Erickson, New York. Seven objects, some with a very high artistic value, which were previously on permanent loan to the Museum, have now become the property of the Museum. Among them are two wooden figurines from the New Kingdom, a bronze head of a cat from the Late Period and two Coptic reliefs.

In 1989 the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities held a temporary exhibition in which the objects from the Swedish part of Ernest Erickson's extensive collections from different cultures were exhibited.

Two Late Roman floor mosaics from Syria, published in *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 23, 1988, from the same collection were among the acquisitions of the Graeco-Roman Department, which thanks to a private donation also received two Roman lion heads of bronze, each with a large handle ring hanging from its mouth. They were probably the handles of a chest. From Mrs. Märta Delin-Linnqvist the Museum has received the monumental oil-painting entitled "The Thread of Ariadne" by the late famous painter Hilding Linnqvist. The painting was the prototype for a mosaic representing different scenes from the Theseus myth. The mosaic is in the Marabou factory in Upplands Väsby outside Stockholm.

Moreover the Graeco-Roman Department has received a number of objects on permanent loan for the new permanent exhibition in the central hall of the Museum. The National Museum has lent a number of



Fig. 1. Greek and Roman exhibition in the central hall of the museum.

ancient sculptures, among them objects originally belonging to the Gustaf III Antikmuseum, as well as a number of architectural models cut in cork by the Italian artist Altieri and bought by Gustaf III during his journey to Italy in 1783–1784. From the Millesgården

13 ancient sculptures were borrowed. They were originally acquired by the artist Carl Milles during his journeys in the Mediterranean.

Three ancient marble sculptures and a Roman marble sarcophagus are on loan from the Karolinska Institutet. They were previously in the Karl Bergsten Collection and originate partly from the British 18th century collection in the Lansdowne House Collection in

London. Among them is a Roman replica of Praxiteles' sculpture Apollo Sauroktonos. Finally the Museum has received on permanent loan the most important part of Dr. Carl Kempe's famous collection of Etruscan, Greek and Roman gold.

The exhibition activity was devoted entirely to the creation and formation of new permanent exhibitions for the re-inauguration of the Museum. Towards the end of the year preparations were started for an exhibition to be held during the autumn of 1989 of Arabic manuscripts from the King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, and of part of the big collection of Islamic silver objects owned



Fig. 2. Cyprus exhibition: The Ajia Irini votive group.

by Dr. Saad Al-Jadir in Rabat.

On behalf of the National Museum in Damascus, the Museum in collaboration with the Museum of National Antiquities presented the exhibition "The Queen of the Desert. Art and Culture from Palmyra" at the Kalmar County Museum from June 18 to December 31, 1988, at the Ystad Art Museum from January 22 to February 26, 1989 and at the Åbo County Museum in Finland from May 18 to September 17, 1989, after which it was sent back to Damascus.

The excavation projects at Asine and Chania in Greece and at Carthage in Tunisia, all with Dr. Carl-Gustaf Styrenius as project leader, were as usual ad-

ministered by the Museum. The scientific work for the final publication of the three excavations has continued.

In September 1988 Dr. Pontus Hellström resumed the Swedish excavations at Labraunda in south-western Turkey. Interesting finds of architectural remains were made in the north-eastern part of the temple area.

During the year, *Bulletin* 23, 1988 appeared with Dr. Hellström as Editor. It contained scholarly articles on objects in the Museum.

As I am leaving the directorship of the Museum during the autumn of 1989 after more than eighteen years, this is my last article on the activities in the Museum.

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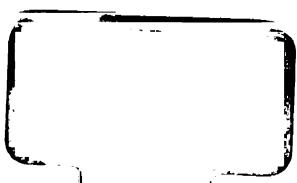
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